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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

IV

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF
HERBERT BALDWIN FOSTER, PH.D.

IN NINE VOLUMES

IV



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BOOK XLI

Τάδε ξνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

- α. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἦλθε καὶ Πομπήιος ἐκλιπὼν αὐτὴν
ἐς Μακεδονίαν διέπλευσεν.
β. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Ἰβηρίαν παρεστήσατο.
γ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐπὶ Πομπήιον διέπλευσεν
δ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπήιος περὶ Δυρράχιον ἐπολέμησαν.
ε. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Πομπήιον περὶ Φάρσαλον ἐνίκησεν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη δύο, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἷδε
ἐγένοντο

Α. Κορνήλιος Π. υἱ. Λεντούλος ὕπ.
Γ. Κλαύδιος Μ¹ υἱ. Μάρκελλος
Γ. Ἰούλιος² Γ. υἱ. Καῖσαρ τὸ β' ὕπ.
Π. Σερούλιος Π. υἱ. Ἰσαυρικός

Τότε μὲν δὴ ταύτ' ἔπραξε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν λαβὼν ἦλθέ τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νουμηνίᾳ ἐν ᾗ ὁ τε Λέντουλος ὁ Κορνήλιος καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος ὁ Γάιος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνεστήσαντο, καὶ οὐ πρότερον τοῖς ὑπάτοις αὐτὰ ἀπέδωκε πρὶν ἐς τὸ συνέδριόν σφας ἀφικέσθαι, μὴ καὶ ἔξω πον λαβόντες αὐτὰ ἀπο-
2 κρύψωνται. ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὥς ἀνέσχον, οὐκ ἐθέλοντές σφας ἀναλέξασθαι· τέλος δὲ ὑπό

¹ Κλαύδιος Μ. Bs., following R. Steph., καμ' L.

² Ἰούλιος R. Steph., δουλίου L.

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The following is contained in the Forty-first of Dio's *Rome*.—

How Caesar came into Italy, and how Pompey, leaving it, sailed across to Macedonia (chaps. 1–14).

How Caesar subjugated Spain (chaps. 18–25)

How Caesar sailed across to Macedonia to encounter Pompey (chaps. 39, 44–46).

How Caesar and Pompey fought around Dyrrachium (chaps. 47–51).

How Caesar conquered Pompey at Pharsalus (chaps. 52–63).

Duration of time, two years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated :—

B. C.

49 L. Cornelius P. F. Lentulus, C. Claudius M. F. Marcellus.

48 C. Iulius C. F. Caesar (II), P. Servilius P. F. Isauricus.

AFTER taking this course at that time, Curio later B. C. 49 came to Rome on the very first day of the month on which Cornelius Lentulus and Gaius Claudius entered upon office, bringing a letter from Caesar to the senate; and he did not give it to the consuls until they reached the senate-house, for fear that if they received it outside they might suppress it. Even as it was, they waited a long time, in their unwillingness to read it, but at last they were compelled

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- τε Κυνίου Κασσίου Λογγίνου καὶ ὑπὸ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου δημαρχούντων ἡναγκάσθησαν αὐτὰ δη-
 3 μοσιεῦσαι. Ἀντώνιος μὲν οὖν ἐν τούτῳ τότε τὸν Καίσαρα εὐεργετήσας ἀντιλήψεσθαι τε πολλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ μεγάλων καὶ αὐτὸς αἰωρηθήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα ποτὲ καλῶς τὸ κοινὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεποιήκει ἐνεγέγραπτο, καὶ
 4 ἀπολογισμὸς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἠτιάζετο. καταλύσειν τε τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκστήσεσθαι ὑπισχνεῖτο, ἂν καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τὰ αὐτὰ οἱ ποιήσῃ· ἐκείνου γὰρ τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοντος οὐδὲ ἑαυτὸν δίκαιον εἶναι ἀναγκασθῆναι αὐτὰ ἀφεί-
 2 ναι ἔλεγεν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐκδοθῇ. διαψηφίσεως δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐ κατ' ἄνδρα, μὴ καὶ δι' αἰδῶ ἢ καὶ φόβον τινὰ παρὰ τὰ δοκούντα σφισιν ἀποφήνωνται, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τάδε καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνα τοῦ βουλευτηρίου μεταστάσει γενομένης, τὸν μὲν Πομπήιον οὐδεὶς ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἐκ τῶν ὀπλων ἐψηφίσατο (ἐν γὰρ τῷ προαστείῳ τὰς δυνάμεις εἶχε), τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα πάντες πλήν Μάρκου τέ τινος Καιλίου¹ καὶ τοῦ Κουρίωνος τοῦ
 2 τὰ γράμματα αὐτοῦ κομίσαντος. περὶ γὰρ τῶν δημάρχων οὐδὲν λέγω, ὅτι μηδὲ² ἐν ἀνάγκῃ τινὶ μεταστῆναι ἐποίησαντο, ἅτε καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες εἴτε ἐβούλοντό τινα γνώμην συμβαλέσθαι εἴτε καὶ μὴ. ἔδοξε μὲν οὖν ταῦτα, οὐ μὲν καὶ κυρωθῆναί τι αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὔτε ἐν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ὃ τε Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Λογγίνος ἐπέ-
 3 τρεψαν. ἀγανακτησάντων δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ψηφισαμένων τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἀλλάξα-

¹ Καιλίου Fr. Fabricius (cf. Oros. 6, 15, 2), καικιλίου L (and so just below). ² μηδὲ Bk., μήτε L.

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by Quintus Cassius Longinus and Mark Antony, who B.C. 49
were tribunes, to make it public. Now Antony for the service he then rendered Caesar in this matter was destined to be well repaid and to be raised himself to great honours. As to the letter, it contained a list of all the benefits which Caesar had ever conferred upon the state and a defence of the charges which were brought against him. He promised to disband his legions and give up his office if Pompey would also do the same; for while the latter bore arms it was not right, he claimed, that he should be compelled to give up his and so be exposed to his enemies. The vote on this proposition was not taken individually, lest the senators through some sense of shame or fear should vote contrary to their true opinions; but it was done by their taking their stand on this or on that side of the senate-chamber. No one voted that Pompey should give up his arms, since he had his troops in the suburbs; but all, except one Marcus Caelius and Curio, who had brought his letter, voted that Caesar must do so. Of the tribunes I make no mention, since they did not consider it at all necessary to take part in the division; for they had the privilege of offering an opinion or not, as they saw fit. This, then, was the decision reached; but Antony and Longinus did not allow any part of it to be ratified either on that day or the next. The rest, indignant at this, voted to change their apparel, but

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- σθαι, κύρος μὲν οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν, ἢ μέντοι γνώμη συνεγράφη καὶ τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐγένετο· πάντες γὰρ παραχρῆμα ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ τὴν στολὴν μεταβαλόντες ἐσῆλθον αὐθις καὶ περὶ τιμωρίας αὐτῶν ἐβου-
- 2 λεύοντο. ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνοι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀντέπραπτον, ἔπειτα δὲ φοβηθέντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Λέντουλος ὑπεξελθεῖν σφίσι πρὶν τὰς ψήφους διενεχθῆναι παρήνευσεν, εἰπόν τε πολλὰ καὶ ἐμαρτύραυτο, καὶ τούτου μετὰ τοῦ Κουρίωνος καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Καιλίου ἀπήραν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα, βραχὺ φροντίσαντες ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ δι-
- 3 εγράφησαν. τότε μὲν οὖν τοῦτ' ἐγνώσθη, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ταῖς τε ἄλλαις ἀρχαῖς ἢ φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως, ὥσπερ πον εἰώθει γίνεσθαι, ἐπετράπη· ὕστερον δὲ ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Πομπήιον ἐλθόντες ταραχὴν τε εἶναι ἔγνωσαν,
- 4 καὶ ἐκείνῳ μὲν καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ στρατιώτας ἔδωκαν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τοῖς διαδόχοις παραδοῦναι καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἐντὸς ῥητῆς ἡμέρας ἀφεῖναι, ἢ πολέμιον ὥς καὶ τὰναντία τῇ πατρίδι ποιοῦντα εἶναι ἐψηφίσαντο.
- 4 Πυθόμενος οὖν ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος ἔς τε Ἀρίμινον ἦλθεν, ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς τότε πρῶτον προχωρήσας, καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσε τὸν τε Κουρίωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντας σφίσι τὰ πραχθέντα διηγήσασθαι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου προσπαρώξυνεν
- 2 αὐτούς, ἐπειπὼν ὅσα ὁ καιρὸς ἀπῆτει. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἄρας ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀντικρυς τὴν Ῥώμην ἤλασε, πάσας τὰς ἐν ποσὶ πόλεις ἀμαχεῖ προστιθέμενος, τῶν φρουρῶν τῶν μὲν ἐκλείπόντων αὐτὰς ἀσθε-

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this measure, also, through the opposition of the same men, failed to be ratified. The senate's decision, however, was recorded and put into effect; for all straightway left the senate-house, and changed their dress, then came in again and proceeded to deliberate about punishing the tribunes. The latter, observing this, at first resisted, but later became afraid, especially when Lentulus advised them to get out of the way before the vote should be taken. They offered many remarks and protestations and then set out with Curio and with Caelius to go to Caesar, little concerned at being expelled from the senate. This, then, was the decision reached at that time; and the care of the city was committed to the consuls and to the other magistrates, as was the custom. Afterward the senators went outside the pomerium to Pompey himself, declared that there was a state of disorder, and delivered to him both the funds and the troops. And they voted that Caesar should surrender his office to his successors and dismiss his legions by a given day, or else be considered an enemy, because acting contrary to the interests of the country.

B.C. 49

When Caesar was informed of this, he came to Ariminum, then for the first time overstepping the confines of his own province, and after assembling his soldiers he ordered Curio and the others who had come with him to relate to them what had been done. After this was over he further aroused them by adding such words as the occasion demanded. Next he set out and marched straight upon Rome itself, winning over all the cities on the way without any conflict, since the garrisons either abandoned

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- νεία, τῶν δὲ τὰ ἐκείνου ἀνθαιρουμένων. αἰσθό-
 μενος δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ ἅμα καὶ τὴν
 διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν παρὰ τοῦ Λαβιήνου μαθὼν,
 3 ἔδεισεν. οὗτος γὰρ ἐγκαταλιπὼν τὸν Καίσαρα
 ἐξηυτομόλησε καὶ πάντα οἱ τὰ ἀπόρρητα αὐτοῦ
 ἐξήγγειλε. θαυμάσειε μὲν οὖν ἂν τις ὅτι ἐς τὰ
 πρῶτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος αἰεὶ ποτε τιμηθεὶς, ὥστε
 καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἄλπεις στρατοπέδων,
 ὁπότε ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ εἴη, ἄρχειν, ἐποίησε
 4 τοῦτο.¹ αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι αὐτὸς τε καὶ πλούτον καὶ
 δόξαν περιβαλόμενος² ὀγκηρότερον τῆς ἡγεμονίας
 διάγειν ἤρξατο, καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ παριστούμενόν οἱ
 αὐτὸν ἰδὼν οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἠγάπα. τὴν τε οὖν
 μεταβολὴν μὴ φέρων, καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἅμα μὴ πάθῃ
 τι, μετέστη.
 5 Ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ἔκ τε τῶν περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος
 αὐτῷ λεχθέντων, καὶ ὅτι ἰσχὺν ἀξιόμαχον οὐπῶ³
 παρεσκεύαστο, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει, τοὺς τε ἄλ-
 λους καὶ αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τοὺς στασιώτας, τὸν τε
 πόλεμον ὀκνοῦντας μνήμῃ τῶν τε τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ
 τῶν τοῦ Σύλλου ἔργων καὶ ἀπαλλαγῇν ἀσφαλῶς
 2 αὐτοῦ βουλομένους εἶδε, μετεβάλετο,⁴ καὶ πρέσβεις
 πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα Λούκιόν τε Καίσαρα συγγενῇ
 αὐτῷ ὄντα καὶ Λούκιον Ῥώσκιον στρατηγοῦντα
 αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἀπέστειλεν, εἴ πως τὴν ὁρμὴν
 αὐτοῦ ἐκφυγῶν ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ μετρίοις τισὶ συμβαίῃ.
 3 ἀποκριναμένου δὲ ἐκείνου τά τε ἄλλα ἅπερ ἐπε-
 στάλκει, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸς τῷ Πομπηίῳ διαλεχθῆναι

¹ τοῦτο Wagner, τοῦτον L.

² περιβαλόμενος H. Steph., περιβαλλόμενος L.

³ οὐπῶ Reim., αὐτῷ L.

⁴ μετεβάλετο Bk., μετεβάλλετο L.

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them, because they were powerless to resist, or preferred his cause. Pompey, perceiving this, became afraid, especially when he learned all his rival's intentions from Labienus ; for this officer had abandoned Caesar and deserted to the other side, and he announced all Caesar's secrets to Pompey. One might feel surprise, now, that after having always been most highly honoured by Caesar to the extent even of commanding all the legions beyond the Alps whenever the proconsul was in Italy, he should have done this. The reason was that when he had acquired wealth and fame he began to conduct himself more haughtily than his rank warranted, and Caesar, seeing that he put himself on the same level with his superior, ceased to be so fond of him. And so, as Labienus, could not endure this change and was at the same time afraid of coming to some harm, he transferred his allegiance. B.C 49

Pompey, because of what was told him about Caesar and because he had not yet prepared a force sufficient to cope with him, changed his plans ; for he saw that the people in the city, in fact the very members of his party, even more than the rest, shrank from the war through remembrance of the deeds of Marius and Sulla and wished to be delivered from it. Therefore he sent to Caesar, as envoys, Lucius Caesar, a relative of his, and Lucius Roscius, a praetor, both of whom volunteered for the service, to see if he could avoid his attack in some way and then reach an agreement with him on reasonable terms. The other replied to the same effect as in the letter which he had sent, and said that he, too, wished to have a conference with Pompey ; but the multitude

- ἐθέλοι, τοῦτο μὲν οὐχ ἡδέως οἱ πολλοὶ ἤκουσαν,
 4 δέισαντες μὴ καὶ κατὰ σφῶν τι σύνθωνται· ἐπεὶ
 μέντοι οἱ πρέσβεις ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπαινούντες τὸν
 Καίσαρα ἔλεγον, καὶ τέλος οὔτε τι κακὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
 πείσεσθαι τινα καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτίκα ἀφεθή-
 σεσθαι προσυπισχνοῦντο, ἥσθησαν, καὶ πρὸς τε
 ἐκείνους τοὺς αὐτοὺς αὖθις πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν, καὶ
 ἡξίουν ἐπιβοῶντες αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀμφοτέ-
 ρους ἅμα αὐτοὺς τὰ ὄπλα καταθέσθαι.
- 6 Φοβηθεὶς οὖν διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος (καὶ γὰρ εὖ
 ἠπίστατο ὅτι πολὺ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἂν γε ἐπὶ τῷ
 δήμῳ γένωνται, ἐλαττωθήσεται) αὐτὸς τε ἐς Καμ-
 2 πανίαν πρὶν τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπανελθεῖν, ὥς καὶ
 ῥᾶον ἐκεῖ πολεμήσων, προαπῆρε, καὶ τὴν βου-
 λὴν ἅπασαν μετὰ τῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐχόντων ἀκολου-
 θῆσαί οἱ ἐκέλευσεν, ἀδειάν τέ σφισι δόγματι τῆς
 ἐκδημίας δούς, καὶ προειπὼν ὅτι τὸν ὑπομείναντα
 ἔν τε τῷ ἴσῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ τοῖς τὰ ἐναντία
 3 σφίσι πράττουσιν ἔξοι. πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ τὰ
 χρήματα τὰ δημόσια τά τε ἀναθήματα τὰ ἐν τῇ
 πόλει πάντα ἀναιρεθῆναι προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς ψη-
 φίσασθαι, ἐλπίζων παμπληθεῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν στρα-
 τιώτας ἀθροίσειν. τοσαύτην γὰρ εὐνοίαν αὐτοῦ
 πᾶσαι ὥς εἰπεῖν αἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεις εἶχον
 ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ ἤκουσαν αὐτὸν ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν
 ἐπικινδύνως νοσοῦντα, σωτήρια αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ
 4 θύσειν εὐχασθαι. καὶ ὅτι μὲν μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν
 τοῦτ' αὐτῷ ἔδοσαν, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἀντιλέξειεν· οὐ
 γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτῳ¹ ποτὲ ἄλλῳ, ἔξω τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα
 τὸ πᾶν κράτος λαβόντων, τοιοῦτόν τι ἐψηφίσθη·

¹ ὅτῳ R. Steph., ὅτι L.

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was not pleased to hear this, fearing that some measures might be concerted against them. When, however, the envoys said many things in praise of Caesar, and ended up by promising that no one should suffer any harm at his hands and that the legions should immediately be disbanded, they were pleased and sent the same envoys to him again, and they kept shouting out everywhere and always their demand that both leaders should lay down their arms at the same time. B. C. 49

Pompey was frightened at this, knowing well that he would be far inferior to Caesar if they should both put themselves in the power of the people, and accordingly set out for Campania before the envoys returned, with the idea that he could more easily carry on war there. He also commanded the whole senate together with the magistrates to accompany him, granting them permission for their absence by a decree, and announcing to them that he would regard anyone who remained behind in exactly the same light as those who were working against him. Furthermore he ordered them to decree that the public moneys and the votive offerings in the city should all be seized, hoping that by using them he could get together a vast number of soldiers. For practically all the cities of Italy felt such friendliness for him that when, a short time before, they had heard he was dangerously ill, they had vowed to offer public sacrifices for his safety. That this was a great and brilliant honour which they bestowed upon him no one would deny, since there has been no one else in whose behalf such a vote was ever passed, except those who in after times received

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- οὐ μὴν καὶ ἀκριβῆ πίστιν τοῦ μὴ οὐκ ἐγκαταλεί-
ψειν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τοῦ κρείττονος φόβον παρ-
5 εἶχον.¹ ἐγνώσθη μὲν δὴ ταῦτα περὶ τε τῶν χρη-
μάτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων, οὐκ ἐκινήθη δὲ
οὐδέτερα.² πυθόμενοι γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν τε Καίσαρα
μήτε τι εἰρηναῖον τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀποκεκρίσθαι
καὶ προσεγκαλεῖν σφισιν ὥς καὶ καταψευσαμένοις
6 τινὰ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας πολλοὺς τε καὶ
θρασεῖς εἶναι καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν, οἷά πον φιλεῖ³ περὶ
τῶν τοιούτων ἐπὶ τὸ φοβερώτερον ἀγγέλλεσθαι,
κακουργήσειν, ἐφοβήθησαν, καὶ σπουδῇ τὴν ἔξο-
δον, πρὶν ἄψασθαι τινος αὐτῶν, ἐποιήσαντο.
- 7 Καὶς τούτου καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίως πάντα
θορυβώδης σφῶν καὶ ταραχώδης ἡ ἀνάστασις
ἐγένετο. οἳ τε γὰρ ἐξιόντες (ἦσαν δὲ πάντες ὥς
εἰπεῖν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς ἱππᾶδος
2 καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῦ⁴ ὁμίλου) λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ
πολέμῳ ἀφωρμῶντο, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ τῶν ἐαλωκότων
ἔπασχον· τὴν τε γὰρ πατρίδα καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ
διατριβὰς ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια τείχη οἰκειό-
τερα τῶν σφετέρων νομίζειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι δεινῶς
3 ἐλυποῦντο. οἳ τε γὰρ πανοικησίᾳ ἀνιστάμενοι τὰ
ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τό τε ἔδαφος τὸ πατρῶον ὥς
καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν εὐθὺς ἐσόμενα ἀπέλειπον,⁵
καὶ αὐτοὶ οὕτω τὴν γνώμην, ἃν γε καὶ περισωθῶ-
σιν, εἶχον ὥς κἂν⁶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ τῇ τε Θράκῃ
κατοικήσουντες· τὴν γὰρ τοῦ Πομπηίου διάνοιαν
4 οὐκ ἠγνόουν. καὶ οἱ κατὰ χώραν τοὺς τε παῖδας
καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τά τε ἄλλα τὰ τιμιώτατα

¹ παρείχον Kubler, εἶχον L.

² οὐδέτερα Bk, οὐδὲ ἕτερα L.

³ φιλεῖ R. Steph., φιλεῖν L.

⁴ τοῦ Rk., τὸ τοῦ L.

⁵ ἀπέλειπον H. Steph., ἀπέλιπον L.

⁶ κἂν Reim., καὶ L.

BOOK XLI

absolute power ; still they inspired him with no sure confidence that they would not abandon him through fear of one stronger. The recommendation about the moneys and the votive offerings was granted, but neither of them was touched ; for, having ascertained meanwhile that Caesar's answer to the envoys had not been at all conciliatory and that he had furthermore reproached them with having made some false statements about him, also that his soldiers were many and bold and liable to do any kind of mischief,—just the sort of reports, exaggerating the danger, as are usually made about such matters,—the senators became frightened and hastily took their departure before they could lay hands on any of the treasures. B. C. 49

Accordingly their removal was equally tumultuous and confused in all other respects. For the departing citizens, practically all of whom were the foremost men of the senate and of the knights, to say nothing of the populace, while nominally setting out for war, were in reality undergoing the experiences of captives. For they were compelled to abandon their country and their pursuits there, and to consider foreign walls more friendly than their own, and consequently they were terribly distressed. Such as were removing with their entire households said farewell to the temples and to their homes and to the soil of their ancestors, with the feeling that these would straightway become the property of their opponents ; and as for themselves, not being ignorant of Pompey's purpose, they had the intention, if they really survived, of establishing themselves in Macedonia and Thrace. Those who were leaving behind on the spot their children and wives and

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- καταλείποντες¹ ἔχειν μὲν τινα ἐλπίδα τῆς πατρίδος ἐδόκουν, πολὺ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἐτέρων, ἅτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀπαρτῶμενοι, διττῇ τε τύχῃ καὶ ἐναντιωτάτῃ παραβαλλόμενοι,
- 5 χαλεπωτέρως ἀπήλλασσον· τὰ γὰρ οἰκειότατα τῷ πολεμιωτάτῳ σφῶν ἐκδόντες ἔμελλον ἐθελοκακοῦντες μὲν αὐτοὶ κινδυνεύσειν, προθυμούμενοι δὲ ἐκείνων στερηθῆσεσθαι, καὶ προσέτι φίλον μὲν μηδέτερον ἐχθροὺς δὲ ἀμφοτέροους ἔξειν, Καίσαρα μὲν ὅτι μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατέμειναν, Πομπήιον δὲ ὅτι μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα συνεπηγάγοντο.
- 6 ὥστε καὶ ἐς ἀμφίβολον καὶ ταῖς γνώμας καὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς ταῖς τε ἐλπίσι καθιστάμενοι τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἅμα ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων σφίσιν ἀπεσπῶντο καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς δίχα διηροῦντο.
- 8 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ ἐξορμώμενοι ἐπασχον, οἱ δ' ὑπολειπόμενοι διαφόροις μὲν ἀντιπάλοις δέ τισι καὶ αὐτοὶ παθήμασι συνεφέροντο. οἷ τε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων σφίσιν ἀποξευγνύμενοι, οἷα τῶν τε προστατῶν στερισκόμενοι καὶ ἐπαμύναι
- 2 αὐτοῖς² ἥκιστα δυνάμενοι, τῷ τε πολέμῳ ἐκδιδόμενοι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως κρατήσοντος ἐσόμενοι, αὐτοὶ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου καὶ τῶν ὕβρεων καὶ τῶν σφαγῶν ὥς καὶ γιγνομένων ἤδη ἐταλαιπώρουν, καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων οἷ τε ὀργὴν σφισιν ὅτι ἐγκατελείφθησαν ἔχοντες τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπηρῶντο καὶ οἱ συγγνώμῃ τῆς ἀνάγκης
- 3 ποιοῦμενοι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐδέδισαν.³ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος σύμπαν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μηδεμία αὐτοῖς συγγένεια πρὸς τοὺς ἀφορμωμένους ἦν,

¹ καταλείποντες Bk., καταλιπόντες L.

² αὐτοῖς Xyl., αὐτοῖς L.

³ ἐδέδισαν Bs., ἐδεδέισαν L.

BOOK XLI

all their other dearest treasures gave the impression, indeed, of having some little hope of their country, but in reality were in a much worse plight than the others, since they were being separated from all that was dearest to them and were exposing themselves to a double and most contradictory fate. For in delivering their nearest interests to the power of their bitterest foes they were destined, in case they played the coward, to be in danger themselves, and in case they showed zeal, to be deprived of those left behind ; moreover, they would find a friend in neither rival, but an enemy in both—in Caesar because they themselves had not remained behind, and in Pompey because they had not taken everything with them. Hence they were divided in their minds, in their prayers, and in their hopes ; in body they were being sundered from those nearest to them, and their souls were cleft in twain.

These were the feelings of the departing throng. The ones left behind were experiencing different, but equally painful emotions. Those who were being sundered from their relatives, being thus deprived of their guardians and quite unable to defend themselves, exposed to the war and about to be in the power of him who should make himself master of the city, not only were distressed themselves by the fear of outrages and of murders, as if these were already taking place, but they also either invoked the same fate against those departing, through anger at being deserted, or, condoning their action because of their necessity, feared that the same fate would befall them. All the rest of the populace, even if they did not have the least kinship with those departing,

B.C. 49

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- ὁμως ἐλυποῦντο μὲν καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, οἱ μὲν γείτονας οἱ δὲ ἐταίρους πολὺ τε ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀφήξιν καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα καὶ δράσειν καὶ πείσεσθαι ἐλπίζοντες, πολλῶ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα
- 4 αὐτοὺς ὠλοφύροντο· τὰς τε γὰρ ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς τι δυναμένους πάντας (οὐ γάρ που εἴ γέ τις αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθήσεται ἥδεσαν) τῆς τε πατρίδος ἅμα καὶ σφῶν ἐξισταμένους ὀρώντες, καὶ μὴτ' ἂν ἐκείνους, εἰ μὴ πάνυ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ αὐτῇ ἐπήρητο, φυγεῖν
- 5 ποτε ἐθελῆσαι λογιζόμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔρημοι μὲν ἀρχόντων ἔρημοι δὲ συμμάχων γιγνόμενοι, πρὸς τε τὰ ἄλλα πάντα παισὶ τέτισιν ὀρφανοῖς καὶ γυναιξὶ χήραις ἐώκεσαν, καὶ τὰς ὀργὰς τὰς τε ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἐπιόντων καὶ πρῶτοι¹ . . . τῆς τῶν προτέρων παθημάτων μνήμης, οἱ μὲν αὐτοὶ πειραθέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνων ἀκούοντες ὅσα καὶ οἶα ὃ τε Μάριος καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐξεργάσαντο,
- 6 μέτριον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπώπτευν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πλείω καὶ δεινότερα, ἅτε καὶ βαρβαρικοῦ τὸ πλείστον τοῦ στρατοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄντος, πείσεσθαι προσεδόκων.
- 9 Οὕτως οὖν δὴ πάντων αὐτῶν διακειμένων, καὶ μηδεὶός, ἔξω τῶν προσφιλῶν πῃ τῷ Καίσαρι δοκούντων εἶναι, ἐν ἐλαφρῷ τὸ πρᾶγμα ποιουμένου,² καὶ ἐκείνων δὲ πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν τρόπων, ἃς οἱ πλείους πρὸς τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν³ λαμβάνουσιν, οὐ φερεγγύῃ πίστει θαρσούντων, οὐδ' ⁴ ἐπινοῆσαι ῥάδιον ὅση μὲν ταραχὴ ὅσον δὲ

¹ Lacuna recognised by Xyl.

² ποιουμένου Xyl., ποιουμένων L.

³ σφίσι Rk., σφῶν L.

⁴ οὐδ' Pflugk, οὐτ' L.

BOOK XLI

were nevertheless grieved at their fate, some expecting that their neighbours, and others that their comrades, would go far away from them and do and suffer many dreadful things. But most of all they bewailed their own lot as they beheld the magistrates and the senate and all the others who had any power—they were not sure, indeed, whether any of them would be left behind—quitting their country and them. They reflected how those men would never have wished to flee, had not many altogether dreadful calamities fastened themselves upon the state; and as for themselves, being now bereft of rulers and bereft of allies, they seemed in all respects like orphaned children and widowed wives. [Expecting] to be the first [to experience] the wrath and the lust of the approaching foes, and remembering their former sufferings, some by experience and others by hearing from the victims all the outrages that Marius and Sulla had committed, they did not look for any moderate treatment from Caesar, either. On the contrary, inasmuch as the larger part of his army consisted of barbarians, they expected that their misfortunes would be far greater in number and more terrible than the former ones.

B.C. 40

Since, then, all of them were in this state, and no one except those who thought they were good friends of Caesar made light of the situation, and even they, in view of the change of character which most men undergo according to their circumstances, had not the courage of confident assurance, it is not easy to conceive what confusion and what grief prevailed at

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ πένθος ἐν τῇ τῶν τε ὑπάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 2 τῶν συνεξορμωμένων σφίσιν ἐξόδῳ ἐγένετο. τὴν
 τε γὰρ νύκτα πᾶσαν ἀνασκευαζόμενοι¹ καὶ
 περιφοιτῶντες ἐθορύβουν, καὶ ὑπὸ² τὴν ἔω πολὺς
 μὲν πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς³ οἶκτος (καὶ γὰρ ἑκασταχόθι
 περιόοντες εὐχὰς ἐποιοῦντο) πάντας αὐτοὺς
 ἐλάμβανε· τοὺς τε γὰρ θεοὺς ἀνεκάλουν καὶ τὰ
 δάπεδα κατεφίλουν, ὡς αἱ τε⁴ ἐξ οἶων περιεγέ-
 νοντο ἀνηριθμοῦντο, καὶ ὅτι τὴν πατρίδα, ἧ
 μηπώποτε ἐτετόλμητό σφισιν, ἐξέλειπον,⁵ ὠδύ-
 ροντο· πολὺς δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς πύλας θρήνος ἦν·
 3 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀλλήλους τε ἅμα καὶ ἐκείνην ὡς καὶ
 τελευταῖον ὀρῶντες ἡσπάζοντο, οἱ δὲ ἑαυτοὺς τε
 ἐθρήνουν καὶ τοῖς ἐξιοῦσι συνηύχοντο, καὶ οἱ γε
 πλείους ὡς καὶ προδιδόμενοι κατηρῶντο· πάντες
 γὰρ καὶ οἱ ὑπομένοντες παμπαιδὶ καὶ παγγυναικὶ
 4 παρήσαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἐξωρμώντο, οἱ
 δὲ προέπεμπόν σφας· ἄλλοι τε ἐνεχρόνιζον καὶ
 πρὸς τῶν γνωρίμων κατείχοντο, καὶ τινες
 περιβάλλοντες ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ πλείστον συνηρ-
 τῶντο. ἀκολουθοῦντές τε τοῖς ἐξορμωμένοις οἱ
 ὑπομένοντες ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐπεβοῶντό τε ἅμα
 αὐτοὺς καὶ κατώκτιζον, ἄγειν τέ σφας ἢ καὶ
 5 ἐκείνους οἶκοι μένειν ἀξιοῦντες ἐπεθείαζον. καὶ
 τούτῳ ὁλολυγὴ ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν πολλὴ καὶ
 παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ δάκρυα ἄπλετα ἐγίγνετο·
 τὴν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐλπίδα ἥκιστα, ἅτε ἐν
 τοῖς τοιούτοις ὄντες, τὰ δὲ δὴ πάθη πρότερον μὲν

¹ ἀνασκευαζόμενοι Naber, ἀναγκαζόμενοι L.

² ὑπὸ Reim., ἐπὶ L.

³ πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς placed here by Bk., after καὶ γὰρ in L.

⁴ τε R. Steph., τε καὶ L.

⁵ ἐξέλειπον H. Steph., ἐξέλιπον L.

BOOK XLI

the departure of the consuls and those who set out with them. All night they made an uproar with their packing and running to and fro, and toward dawn great sadness came upon them all at the various temples, as they went about offering prayer on every side. They invoked the gods, kissed the ground, and lamented as often as they enumerated the perils which they had survived, and recalled that they were leaving their country, a thing they had never brought themselves to do before. Around the gates, too, there was much lamenting. Some took fond leave at once of each other and of the city, as if they were beholding them for the last time, others bewailed their own lot and joined their prayers to those of the departing, while the majority uttered curses, on the ground that they were being betrayed. For all who were to remain behind were there, too, with all the women and children. Then the one group set out on their way and the other group escorted them. Some interposed delays and were detained by their acquaintances; others embraced and clung to each other for a long time. Those who were to remain accompanied those who set out, calling after them and expressing their sympathy, while with appeals to Heaven they besought them to take them, too, or to remain at home themselves. Meanwhile there was much wailing over each one of the exiles, even from outsiders, and tears without restraint. For they were anything but hopeful, in such circumstances, of a change for the better; it was rather

B.C. 49

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- οἱ καταλειπόμενοι ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀφορμώμενοι
6 προσεδέχοντο. εἶκασε δ' ἄν τις αὐτοὺς ἰδὼν δύο
τε δήμους καὶ δύο πόλεις ἐκ μιᾶς γίγνεσθαι, καὶ
τὴν μὲν ἀνίστασθαι τε καὶ φεύγειν, τὴν δὲ ἐγκατα-
λείπεσθαι τε καὶ ἀλίσκεσθαι.
- 7 Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν οὕτω τὸ ἄστυ ἐξέλιπεν,
συχνοὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπαγόμενος (ὑπελείφθη-
σαν γάρ τινες, οἱ μὲν τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονούν-
τες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ μέσου ἀμφοῖν ἰστάμενοι), καὶ
καταλόγους τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο
καὶ χρήματα ἐξέλεγε, φρουράς τε ὥς ἐκασταχόσε
10 ἔπεμπε· Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα ἔμαθε, πρὸς
μὲν τὴν Ῥώμην οὐκ ἠπείχθη (ἄθλόν τε γὰρ
αὐτὴν ἦδει τοῖς κρατήσουσι προκειμένην, καὶ
οὐκ ἐπ' ἐκείνην ὥς καὶ πολεμίαν οἱ οὖσαν,
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς δῆθεν
2 ἐπιστρατεύειν ἔλεγε), γράμματα δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν
τὴν Ἰταλίαν πέμψας, δι' ὧν τὸν τε Πομπήιον
ἐς δίκην τινὰ προεκαλεῖτο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
θαρσεῖν παρήνει, κατὰ χώραν τε αὐτοῖς μένειν
ἐκέλευε,¹ καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο πολλὰ αὐτοῖς. καὶ
ἐπὶ Κορφίνιον, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ὑπὸ Λουκίου Δομιτίου
κατεχόμενον οὐ προσεχώρει, ὥρμησε, καὶ τινας
ἀπαντήσαντας μάχῃ κρατήσας ἐς πολιορκίαν
3 τοὺς λοιποὺς κατέκλεισεν. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος,
ἐπειδὴ οὗτοί τε ἐπολιορκούντο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπέκλινον, τῆς μὲν
Ἰταλίας οὐδεμίαν ἔτ' ἐλπίδα ἔσχευ, ἐς δὲ δὴ
τὴν Μακεδονίαν τὴν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν
περαιωθῆναι ἔγνω· τῇ τε γὰρ μνήμῃ ὧν ἐκεῖ
ἐπεπράχει, καὶ τῇ τῶν δήμων τῇ τε τῶν βασιλέων

¹ ἐκέλευε H. Steph., ἐκέλευσε L.

BOOK XLI

suffering that was expected, first by those who were left, and later by those who were departing. Any one who saw them would have supposed that two peoples and two cities were being made from one and that the one group was being driven out and was going into exile, while the other was being left to its fate and taken captive. B C 49

Pompey thus left the city, taking many of the senators with him, although some remained behind, either being attached to Caesar's cause or maintaining a neutral attitude toward the two. He hastily raised levies from the cities, collected money, and sent garrisons to each point. Caesar, when he learned of these moves, did not hurry to Rome; for the capital, he knew, lay as a prize before the victors, and he claimed to be marching, not against that place as hostile to him, but rather against his political opponents and in its defence. And he sent letters throughout all Italy in which he challenged Pompey to some kind of trial, and encouraged the others to be of good cheer, bade them remain in their places, and made them many promises. He set out next against Corfinium, because this place, being occupied by Lucius Domitius, would not join his cause, and after conquering in battle a few who met him he shut up the rest and besieged them. Now Pompey, inasmuch as these followers were being besieged and many of the others were falling away to Caesar, had no further hope of Italy, and resolved to cross over into Macedonia, Greece, and Asia. For he derived much encouragement from the remembrance of what he had achieved there and from the friendship

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- 4 φιλία πολὺ ἐθάρσει. ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἡ Ἰβηρία αὐτῷ πᾶσα οἰκεία, οὐκ ἐδύνατο¹ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ἀσφαλῶς, ἅτε καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὰς Γαλατίας ἔχοντος, κομισθῆναι. πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐλογίζετο ὅτι, ἂν ἀποπλεύσῃ, οὔτε ἐπιδιώξει τις αὐτὸν διὰ τε τὴν τῶν πλοίων ἀπορίαν καὶ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα (ἤδη γὰρ ἐκ μετοπώρου ἦν), κἂν τούτῳ κατὰ σχολὴν πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὑπηκόου πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ καὶ χρήματα καὶ
- 11 στρατεύματα ἀθροίσει. αὐτός τε οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀφωρμήθη, καὶ τὸν Δομίτιον ἐκλιπόντα τὸ Κορφίνιον ἀκολουθεῖν οἱ ἐκέλευσε. καὶ ὅς, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἰσχύν τέ τινα εἶχε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἐπήλπιζε (καὶ γὰρ τοὺς στρατιώτας τά τε ἄλλα ἐτεθεραπεύκει καὶ χώρας ὑποσχέ-
- 2 σει ὑπήκτο· τῶν τε γὰρ Συλλείων ἐγεγόνει καὶ πολλὴν ἐκ τῆς δυναστείας ἐκείνης ἐκέκτετο), ὅμως ἐπειθάρχησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν παρεσκευάζετο ὅπως δι' ἀσφαλείας τινὸς ἐκχωρήσῃ· μαθόντες δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ συνόντες οἱ, καὶ κατοκνήσαντες τὴν² ἄφοδον ὥς καὶ φυγὴν οὖσαν, προσέθεντο τῷ
- 3 Καίσαρι. καὶ οἱ μὲν συνεστρατεύοντο αὐτῷ, Δομίτιος δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βουλευταὶ ἡτιάθησαν μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀντιτάξει, ἀπελύθησαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπῆλθον.
- 12 'Ο δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ σπουδὴν μὲν εἶχε συμμίξαι τε αὐτῷ πρὶν ἐκπλεῦσαι, κἂν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ διαπολεμῆσαι, καταλαβεῖν τε αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ ἔτ' ὄντα· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ πλοῖα οὐκ ἐξήρκεσέ σφισι, προέπεμψεν ἄλλους τε καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους, μὴ καὶ νεοχμῶσώσι τι κατὰ χώραν ὑπομείναν-

¹ ἐδύνατο St., ἡδύνατο L.

² τὴν Reim., ἐς τὴν L.

BOOK XLI

of the peoples and the kings. Spain, to be sure, was likewise wholly devoted to him, but he could not reach it safely, since Caesar held both the Gauls. Moreover he calculated that if he should sail away, no one would pursue him on account of the lack of ships and on account of the winter, as the autumn was now far advanced; and meanwhile he would be amassing at leisure both money and troops, partly from the Roman subjects and partly from their allies. With this purpose, therefore, he himself set out for Brundisium and bade Domitius abandon Corfinium and accompany him. And Domitius, in spite of the large force that he had and the hopes he reposed in it, inasmuch as he had courted the favour of the soldiers in every way and had won them over by promises of land (as one of Sulla's veterans he had acquired a large amount under that régime), nevertheless obeyed orders. He, accordingly, was making preparations to evacuate the town with some degree of safety; but his associates, when they learned of it, shrank from the journey abroad, because it seemed to them a flight, and they attached themselves to Caesar. So these joined the invader's army, but Domitius and the other senators, after being censured by Caesar for arraying themselves against him, were allowed to go and came to Pompey.

Caesar, accordingly, was anxious to join issue with Pompey before he could sail away and to fight out the war in Italy, if he could but overtake his adversary while he was still at Brundisium; for since there were not sufficient ships for all, Pompey had sent ahead the consuls and others, fearing that they might begin some rebellion if they remained there.

- 2 *τες· ἰδὼν δὲ τὸ δυσάλωτον τοῦ χωρίου προεκαλέ-
σατο*¹ αὐτὸν ἐς συνθήκας ὥς καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην
τὴν τε φιλίαν ἀποληψόμενον. ἀποκριναμένου
τε αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὅτι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἂ
λέγει κοινώσεται, ἐπειδὴ ἐδέδοκτό σφισι μηδένα
τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντων ἐς λόγους
3 δέχεσθαι, προσέβαλε τῇ πόλει. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ
Πομπήιος ἡμέρας μὲν τινὰς ἡμύνατο, μέχρις οὗ
τὰ πλοῖα ἐπανήλθε· διοικοδομήσας δὲ ἐν τούτῳ
καὶ ἀποφράξας τὰς ἐς τὸν λιμένα ὁδούς, μὴ
καὶ ἐπίθηταί τις αὐτῷ ἐκπλέοντι, ἔπειτα νυκτὸς
ἐξανήχθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀσφαλῶς ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν
ἐπεραιώθη, τὸ δὲ δὴ Βρεντέσιον δύο τε ἐν αὐτῷ
πλοῖα μεστὰ ἀνδρῶν ἔαλω.
- 13 Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν τὴν τε πατρίδα καὶ τὴν
ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν οὕτως ἐξέλιπε πάντα τὰ ἐναντιώ-
τατα τοῖς πρόσθεν, ὅτε ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας
κατέπλευσε, καὶ ἐλόμενος καὶ πράξας· ἀφ'
ὧν περ καὶ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀντίπαλου
2 ἐκτήσατο. τά τε γὰρ στρατόπεδα πρότερον
εὐθύς ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ, ἵνα μὴ τι τοὺς πολίτας
λυπήσῃ, ἀφείξ, ἕτερα δι' αὐτοῦ τότε ἐκ τῆς
Ἰταλίας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξήγαγε· καὶ τοὺς πλούτους
τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀγαγών, πάνθ'
3 ὅσα ἡδυνήθη τότε ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐτέρωσε² ἐκόμισε· καὶ
τῶν μὲν οἴκοι πάντων ἀπέγνων, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοτριόις
καὶ τοῖς γε ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ποτε δουλωθεῖσι συμ-
μάχοις κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος χρήσασθαι ἐνόει, καὶ
ἐν αὐτοῖς πολὺ πλείω ἐλπίδα καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας
καὶ τῆς δυναστείας ἢ ἐν³ τοῖς εὐεργετηθεῖσιν

¹ προεκαλέσατο Reim., προσεκαλέσατο L.² ἐτέρωσε R. Steph., ἐτέρως L. ³ ἐν added by Bk.

BOOK XLI

Caesar, seeing the difficulty of capturing the place, B. C. 49 urged his opponent to come to some agreement, assuring him that he should obtain both peace and friendship again. When Pompey replied merely that he would communicate to the consuls what Caesar said, the latter, inasmuch as those officials had decided to receive no citizen in arms for a conference, assaulted the city. Pompey repelled him for some days until the ships returned; and having meanwhile barricaded and obstructed the streets leading to the harbour, so that no one should attack him as he was sailing forth, he then put out by night. Thus he crossed over to Macedonia in safety, and Brundisium was captured along with two ships full of men.

So Pompey in this way deserted his country and the rest of Italy, choosing and carrying out quite the opposite of his former course, when he had sailed back to it from Asia; hence he gained the opposite fortune and reputation. For, whereas formerly he had at once dismissed his legions at Brundisium, so as not to cause the citizens any anxiety, he was now leading away through that town other forces gathered from Italy to fight against them; and whereas he had brought the wealth of the barbarians to Rome, he now carried away from it all that he could to other places. Of all the citizens at home he despaired, but purposed to use against his country foreigners and the allies once enslaved by him; and he placed in them far more hope both of safety and of power than in those whom he had

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4 ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς λαμπρό-
τητος ἦν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἐκείνων κτησάμενος
ἀφίκετο, ταπεινότητα πρὸς τὸν παρὰ τοῦ Καί-
σαρος φόβον ἀντιλαβὼν ἀπῆρεν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς
εὐκλείας ἦν ἐκ τοῦ τὴν πατρίδα αὐξῆσαι ἔσχεν,
δυσκλεέστατος ἐπὶ τῇ τότε ἐκλείψει αὐτῆς
ἐγένετο.

- 14 Καὶ εὐθύς γε καταίρων ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον ἔμαθεν
ὅτι οὐ καλῶς ἀπαλλάξει.¹ στρατιώτας τε γὰρ
κεραυνοὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρόσπλῳ ἔφθειραν, καὶ
τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἀράχλαι κατέσχον,
ἐκβάντος τε ἐκ τῆς νεὸς αὐτοῦ ὅφεις τὸν στίβον
- 2 ἐπισπόμενοι συνέχεον. ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα
τὰ τέρατα ἐγένετο, συνεβεβήκει δὲ καὶ πάσῃ
τῇ πόλει τούτῳ τε τῷ ἔτει καὶ ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν
ἕτερα. ὄντως γάρ που ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐν ταῖς
στάσεσι τὸ κοινὸν βλάπτεται· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
λύκοι τε καὶ βύαι πολλοὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἄστει
- 3 ὤφθησαν, καὶ σεισμοὶ συνεχεῖς μετὰ μυκηθμῶν
ἐγένοντο, πῦρ τε ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς
διῆξε, καὶ ἕτερον ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίνου²
ναὸν κατέφλεξεν. ὃ τε ἥλιος σύμπας ἐξέλιπε,
καὶ κεραυνοὶ σκήπτρόν τε Διὸς καὶ ἄσπίδα
κράνος τε Ἄρεως, ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀνακεί-
μενα, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰς στήλας τὰς τοὺς
- 4 νόμους ἐχούσας ἐλυμήναντο. ζῳά τε πολλὰ
ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτῶν φύσεως ἐγέννησέ τινα, καὶ
λόγιά τινα ὡς καὶ τῆς Σιβύλλης ὄντα ᾗδετο,
κάτοχοί τέ τινες γιγνόμενοι συχνὰ ἐθείαζον.
καὶ πολίταρχος οὐδεὶς ἐς τὰς ἀνοχάς, ὥσπερ

¹ ἀπαλλάξει Rk., ἀπαλλάξειεν L.

² Κυρίνου Bk., κυρίνου L.

BOOK XLI

benefited. Instead of the brilliance, therefore, acquired in those wars, which had marked his arrival, he departed with humiliation as his portion because of his fear of Caesar; and instead of the fame which he had gained for exalting his country, he became most infamous for his desertion of her. B.C. 49

Now at the very moment of coming to land at Dyrrachium he learned that he should not obtain a prosperous outcome. For thunderbolts destroyed some soldiers even as the ships were approaching; spiders occupied the army standards; and after he had left the vessel serpents followed and obliterated his footprints. These were the portents which came to him personally, but for the whole capital others had occurred both that year and a short time previously; for there is no doubt that in civil wars the state is injured by both parties. Hence many wolves and owls were seen in the city itself and continual earthquakes with bellowings took place, fire darted across from the west to the east, and another fire consumed the temple of Quirinus as well as other buildings. The sun, too, suffered a total eclipse, and thunderbolts damaged a sceptre of Jupiter and a shield and a helmet of Mars that were votive offerings on the Capitol, and likewise the tables which contained the laws. Many animals brought forth creatures outside of their own species, some oracles purporting to be those of the Sibyl were made known, and some men became inspired and uttered numerous divinations. No prefect of the city was chosen for the *Feriae*, as had been the

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- εἴθιστο, ἤρέθη, ἀλλ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτῷ, ὥς γέ τισι δοκεῖ, διώκησαν ἕτεροι γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει φασὶν αὐτοὺς
- 5 τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὲν καὶ αὖθις ἐγένετο, τότε¹ δὲ καὶ ὁ Περπέρνας ὁ μετὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου ποτὲ τιμητεύσας ἀπέθανεν, ὡς ἔφην, τελευταῖος πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τιμητείᾳ αὐτοῦ βουλευσάν-
- 6 των, καὶ ἐδόκει καὶ τοῦτό τι νεοχμῶσειν. ἐταράττοντο μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς τέρασιν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, οἰόμενοι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐλπίζοντες ἑκάτεροι ἐς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας σφῶν πάντα αὐτὰ ἀποσκήψειν οὐδὲν ἐξεθύσαντο.
- 15 Ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐς μὲν τὴν Μακεδονίαν οὐδὲ ἐπείρασε τότε πλεῦσαι (πλοίων τε γὰρ ἠπόρει ἅμα καὶ περὶ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ² ἐδεδίει, μὴ αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου ὑποστράτηγοι ἐπελθόντες κατάσχωσι), τὸ δὲ δὴ Βρεντέσιον διὰ φυλακῆς, τοῦ μή τινα τῶν ἀπηρκότων
- 2 ἀναπλεῦσαι, ποιησάμενος πρὸς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἦλθε, καὶ τῆς γερουσίας οἱ ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λογγίνου παρασκευασθείσης (ἐκπεσόντες γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς τότε αὐτὴν ἤθροισαν) ἐδημηγόρησε πολλὰ καὶ ἐπιεικῇ, ὅπως πρὸς τε τὸ παρὸν εὖνοϊαν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς
- 3 τὸ μέλλον ἐλπίδα χρηστὴν λάβωσιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῖς τε γιγνομένοις ἀχθομένους καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατιω-

¹ τότε Bs., τοῦτο L.

² τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ Reim., τὴν Ἰταλίαν L.

BOOK XLI

custom, but the praetors, at least according to some accounts, performed all his duties; others, however, say they did this in the following year. That, to be sure, was an occurrence that happened again; but at this time Perperna, who had once been censor with Philippus, died, being the last, as I have stated,¹ of all the senators who had been alive in his censorship.² This event, too, seemed to portend some political change. Now the people were naturally disturbed at the portents, but as both sides thought and hoped that the calamities would all light on their opponents, they offered no expiatory sacrifices.

Caesar did not even attempt to sail to Macedonia at this time, because he was short of ships and was anxious about Italy, fearing that the lieutenants of Pompey might assail it from Spain and occupy it; but putting Brundisium under guard, so that no one of those who had departed should sail back again, he then proceeded to Rome. There the senate had been assembled for him outside the pomerium by Antony and Longinus; for though they had once been expelled from that body they now convened it. He accordingly delivered a speech of some length and of a temperate character, so that they might feel good-will toward him for the time being and also excellent hope for the future. For as soon as he saw that they were displeased at what was going on

¹ In a book now lost.

² Valerius Maximus (viii. 13, 4) and Pliny (*N.H.* vii. 48) are probably more accurate when they state that he outlived all those who were senators in the year of his consulship (B.C. 92) and all but seven of those whom he appointed to that body during his censorship (B.C. 86). He died at the age of 98.

- τικὸν πλῆθος ὑποπτεύοντας αὐτοὺς ἑώρα, παρα-
 μυθήσασθαι καὶ τιθασεῦσαί σφας τρόπον τινὰ
 ἡθέλησεν, ἵνα τὰ γε ἐκείνων, ἕως ἂν διαπολεμήσῃ,
 4 ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μέινῃ. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐτ' ἡττιάσατό
 τινὰ οὐτ' ἡπέλησέ τινι οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατα-
 δρομὴν κατὰ τῶν πολεμεῖν πολίταις ἐθελόντων
 οὐκ ἄνευ ἁρῶν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον
 πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ τε τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ ὑπὲρ¹ τῆς
 ὁμονοίας σφῶν παραχρῆμα πρὸς τε τοὺς ὑπάτους
 καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήϊον πεμφθῆναι ἐσηγήσατο.
 16 τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, καὶ αὐτὸν
 ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου συνελθόντα, εἰπὼν, σίτὸν τε
 ἐκ τῶν νήσων μετεπέμψατο καὶ πέντε καὶ ἑβδομή-
 κοντα δραχμὰς ἐκάστῳ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ
 ὁ μὲν τούτοις αὐτοὺς δελεάσειν ἡλπίζεν, οἱ δ'
 ἄνθρωποι λογιζόμενοι ὅτι οὔτε φρονοῦσιν οὔτε
 πράττουσι τὰ αὐτὰ οἷ τε ἐφίεμενοί τινων καὶ οἱ
 2 τυχόντες, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τῶν ἔργων
 πάντα τὰ ἡδιστα προβάλλουσι τοῖς ἀντιπρᾶξαί
 τι δυναμένοις, ἐπειδὴν δὲ κατορθώσωσιν ὅσα
 βούλονται, οὔτε τινὸς αὐτῶν μνημονεύουσι καὶ
 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἅς παρ'
 αὐτῶν ἔλαβον χρῶνται, μεμνημένοι δὲ καὶ τὸν
 3 Μάριον τὸν τε Σύλλαν, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ φιλάν-
 θρωπα πολλάκις σφίσιν εἰπόντες οἷα ἀνθ' οἷων
 ἔδρασαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος
 χρεῖαν αἰσθόμενοι, τὰ τε ὅπλα αὐτοῦ πολλὰ καὶ
 πανταχοῦ τῆς πόλεως ὀρώντες ὄντα, οὔτε
 πιστεύειν τοῖς λεγομένοις οὔτε θαρρεῖν ἐδύναντο,

BOOK XLI

and suspicious of the multitude of soldiers, he wished to encourage and tame them, so to speak, in order that quiet might prevail at least in their quarter until he should bring the war to an end. He therefore censured no one and made no threat against anyone, but delivered an attack, not without imprecations, upon those who chose to war upon citizens, and at last proposed that envoys be sent immediately to the consuls and to Pompey to treat for peace and harmony. He made these same statements also to the populace, when that body had likewise assembled outside the pomerium; and he sent for grain from the islands, and promised to give each citizen three hundred sesterces.¹ He hoped to tempt them with this bait; but the men reflected that those who are pursuing certain ends and those who have attained them do not think or act alike, but at the beginning of their undertakings they offer every conceivable gratification to such as are in a position to work against them in any way, whereas, when they succeed in what they wish, they remember none of their promises and use against those very persons the power which they have received from them. Recalling also the behaviour of Marius and Sulla,—how many benevolent phrases they had often addressed to them and then what treatment they had accorded them in return for their services,—and furthermore perceiving Caesar's need and seeing that his armed forces were many and were everywhere in the city, they were unable either to trust his words or to be cheered by them. B.C. 49

¹ Literally, seventy-five drachmae or denarii. Dio expresses all sums in this unit, but in the translation the Roman practice will be followed.

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- 4 ἀλλ' ἔναυλον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν φόβον ἔχοντες καὶ ἐκείνουν ὑπετόπουν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ τὰς καταλλαγὰς δῆθεν πρυτανεύουσιντες ¹ ἡρέθησαν μὲν, οὐκ ἐξῆλθον δέ, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐμνήσθη ποτὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Πίσων ὁ πενθερός αὐτοῦ αἰτίαν ἔσχε.
- 17 τοσούτου τε ἐδέξαντο τὰ χρήματα ἃ ὑπέσχετό σφισι τότε γε λαβεῖν, ὥστε καὶ τὰλλά οἱ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἦν πρὸς τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οὓς ἐφοβοῦντο, τροφὴν ἔδοσαν. καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τούτοις ὥς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς οὖσι τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν εἰρηνικὴν μετημπίσχοντο· οὐδέπω γὰρ αὐτὴν
- 2 μετελήφεισαν. ἀντεῖπε μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἐσθήγησιν Λούκιός ² τις Μέτελλος δῆμαρχος, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐπέρανε, πρὸς τε τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἦλθε καὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτῶν ἐν τηρήσει ἐποίησατο· σμικρὸν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ πον καὶ τῆς παρρησίας, οἱ στρατιῶται φροντίσαντες τὴν τε βαλανάγραν διέκοψαν (τὴν γὰρ κλεῖν οἱ ὑπατοὶ εἶχον, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐξόν τισι πελέκεσιν αὐτ' αὐτῆς χρῆσασθαι)
- 3 καὶ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἐξεφόρησαν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὥς μοι πολλαχόθι εἴρηται, ὀνόματι μὲν ἰσονομίας (καὶ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὰ πλείω αὐτῶν ἐσεφέρετο) ἔργῳ δὲ δυναστείας καὶ ἐψηφίζετο καὶ ἐπράττετο. τοὺς τε γὰρ ἀντιστασιάζοντάς σφισι πολεμίους ἑκάτεροι τῆς πατρίδος ὀνομάζοντες, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν πολεμεῖν λέγοντες, τὰ τε ἴδια μόνον ἠῦξον, καὶ ἐκείνα ὁμοίως ἀμφοτέρω ἐφθειρον.
- 18 Ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐποίησε, καὶ

¹ πρυτανεύουσιντες Reim., πρυτανεύοντες L.

² Λούκιός B^s, Λεύκιός L (here only).

BOOK XL

On the contrary, as they had fresh in their memory B.C. 49 the fear caused by former events, they suspected him also, particularly since the envoys who were to effect the "reconciliation," as he termed it, did not set out after being chosen; indeed, Piso, his father-in-law, was once called to account for so much as referring to them. And far from receiving at that time the money which he had promised them, the people had to give him all the rest that remained in the treasury for the support of his soldiers, whom they feared. In honour of all these things, as if they were propitious events, the citizens changed back to the garb of peace, which up to this time they had not resumed. Now Lucius Metellus, a tribune, opposed the proposition about the money, and when his efforts proved unavailing, he went to the treasury and kept guard at the doors. But the soldiers, paying little heed to the guard he kept or, I imagine, to his outspokenness either, cut the bolt in two (for the consuls had the key, just as if it were not possible for persons to use axes in place of it!) and carried off all the money. In the case of Caesar's other projects also, as I have often stated, he both brought them to vote and carried them out in the same fashion, under the name of democracy, inasmuch as the majority of them were introduced by Antony, but with the substance of despotism. Both Caesar and Pompey called their opponents enemies of their country and declared that they themselves were fighting for the public interests, whereas each alike was really ruining those interests and advancing merely his own private ends.

After taking these steps Caesar occupied Sardinia

- τὴν Σαρδὼ τὴν τε Σικελίαν ἀμαχεὶ κατέσχευεν, ἐκχωρησάντων τῶν τότε ἐν αὐταῖς ἀρχόντων. τὸν τε Ἀριστόβουλον οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Παλαιστίνην,
- 2 ὅπως τῷ Πομπηίῳ τι ἀντιπράξῃ, ἔστειλε· καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ἐπικηρυχθέντων ἀρχὰς αἰτεῖν ἐφῆκε, τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, πρὸς τὸ ἐπιτηδειότατον ἑαυτῷ ὥς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων
- 3 κατέστησε. καὶ ἐκεῖνα μὲν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ἐπέτρεψε, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν,¹ τὰ τε τοῦ Πομπηίου ἰσχυρῶς αἰρουμένην καὶ ἐς δέος αὐτόν, μὴ καὶ τὰς Γαλατίας προσαποστήσῃ, καθιστάν-
- 4 τας, ὥρμησε. καὶν τούτῳ ἄλλοι τε βουλευταὶ καὶ ὁ Κικέρων, μηδὲ ἐς ὅψιν τῷ Καίσαρι ἐλθόν, πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ὥς γε τὰ τε δικαιότερα πράττοντα καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατήσουτα ἀπεχώ-
- 5 ρησεν. οἳ τε γὰρ ὑπάτοι, πρὶν ἐκπλεῖν, καὶ ἐκεῖνος, ἅτε ἀντὶ ὑπάτου ἄρχων, πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσαν ἐς Θεσσαλονίκην ἀκολουθήσαι, ὥς τοῦ μὲν ἄστεως πρὸς πολεμίων τινῶν ἐχομένου, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἅτε² γερουσία ὄντες καὶ τὸ τῆς πολιτείας
- 6 πρόσχημα, ὅπου ποτ' ἂν ὦσιν, ἔξοντες. καὶ σφισι διὰ ταῦτα τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων οἱ πλείους, οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς τότε οἱ δὲ καὶ ὕστερον, καὶ αἱ πόλεις πᾶσαι, ὅσαι μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος ὅπλων κατείργοντο, προσεχώ-
- ρησαν.
- 19 Οἱ μέντοι Μασσαλιῶται μόνοι τῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ οἰκούντων οὔτε συνήραντο τῷ Καίσαρι οὔτε ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσεδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόκρισιν
- 2 αὐτῷ ἀξιομνημόνευτον ἔδωκαν· τῷ τε γὰρ δῆμῳ

¹ Ἰβηρίαν Χϛλ., ἰταλίαν L.² ἅτε Oddey, ἥ τε L.

BOOK XLI

and Sicily without a contest, as the governors who were there at the time withdrew. Aristobulus he sent home to Palestine to accomplish something against Pompey. He also allowed the sons of those who had been proscribed by Sulla to canvass for office, and arranged everything else both in the city and in the rest of Italy to his own best advantage, so far as circumstances permitted. Affairs at home he now committed to Antony's care, while he himself set out for Spain, which was strongly favouring the side of Pompey and causing Caesar some fear that it might induce the Gauls also to revolt. Meanwhile Cicero and other senators, without even appearing before Caesar, retired to join Pompey, since they believed he had more justice on his side and would conquer in the war. For not only the consuls, before they had set sail, but Pompey also, under the authority he had as proconsul, had ordered them all to accompany him to Thessalonica, on the ground that the capital was held by enemies and that they themselves were the senate and would maintain the form of the government wherever they should be. For this reason most of the senators and the knights joined them, some of them at once, and others later, and likewise all the cities that were not coerced by Caesar's armed forces.

Now the Massaliots, alone of the peoples living in Gaul, did not cooperate with Caesar, and did not receive him into their city, but gave him a noteworthy answer. They said that they were allies of the

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- τῶν Ῥωμαίων συμμαχεῖν καὶ ἐκείνοις ἐπιτηδεῖωσιν ἀμφοτέροις ἔχειν, καὶ μήτε πολυπραγμονεῖν τι μήθ' ἱκανοὶ διακρίναι πότερος αὐτῶν ἀδικεῖ εἶναι ἔφασαν, ὥστε εἰ μὲν τις ὡς φίλος ἐθέλοι πρὸς σφᾶς ἔλθειν, κἂν¹ ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοὺς ἄνευ τῶν ὕπλων δέξασθαι ἔλεγον, ἐπὶ πολέμῳ δὲ οὐδέτερον.
- 3 καταστάντες τε² ἐς πολιορκίαν αὐτόν τε ἐκείνον ἀπεκρούσαντο, καὶ τῷ Τρεβωνίῳ τῷ τε Βρούτῳ τῷ Δεκίμῳ³ μετὰ τοῦτο προσεδρεύσασί σφισιν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀντέσχον. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ χρόνον μὲν τινα, ὡς καὶ ῥαδίως αὐτοὺς αἰρήσων, προσεκαρτέρησε (καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ δεινὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀμαχεῖ κρατήσας ὑπὸ
- 4 Μασσαλιωτῶν οὐκ ἐδέχετο), ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ἀντήρ-
κουν, ἐκείνους μὲν ἑτέροις προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἡπεύχθη.
- 20 Ἐπεπόμφει μὲν γὰρ ἐς αὐτὴν Γάιον Φάβιον, δείσας δὲ μὴ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀγωνισάμενος πταίῃ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστράτευσεν. εἶχον δὲ τότε τὰ πράγματα τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἰβηρα ὃ τε Ἀφράνιος καὶ ὁ Πετρίσιος, καὶ φυλακὴν μὲν καὶ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς τῶν ὁρῶν ἐπεποιήνυτο, τὸ δ' ὅλον ἐς Ἰλέρδαν⁴ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀθροίσαντες ἐνταῦθα τοὺς ἐπιόντας
- 2 ὑπέμενον. καὶ τῷ μὲν Φαβίῳ τὴν τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Πυρρηναίου φρουρὰν βιασαμένῳ⁵ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Σίκοριν διαβαίνοντι προσπεσόντες ἐξαίφνης πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν ἀποληφθέντας· ἡ γὰρ γέφυρα πρὶν διελθεῖν αὐτοὺς καταρραγεῖσα

¹ κἂν Kubler, καὶ L. ² καταστάντες τε Bk., καταστάντε L.

³ Δεκίμῳ R Steph., δεκίμῳ L (and so frequently).

⁴ Ἰλέρδαν Gros, Ἰλέρδαν L.

⁵ βιασαμένῳ Pflugk, ποιησαμένῳ L.

BOOK XLI

Roman people and felt friendly towards both sides, B.C. 49
and that they were neither intermeddling at all nor in a position to decide which of the two was in the wrong ; consequently, in case they were approached in a friendly manner, they would receive them both, they said, without their arms, but if it were a question of making war, neither of them. On being subjected to a siege they not only repulsed Caesar himself but held out for a very long time against Trebonius and Decimus Brutus, who besieged them later. For Caesar had persisted in his attempt for some time, thinking to capture them easily, and regarding it as absurd that after vanquishing Rome without a battle he was not received by the Massaliots ; but when they continued to hold out, he left them to the care of others and himself hastened into Spain.

He had sent Gaius Fabius thither, but fearing the other would fail while contending by himself, he, too, made a campaign. Afranius and Petreius at this time had charge of affairs in the vicinity of the Iberus and had even posted a guard over the pass in the mountains, but in the main they had gathered their forces at Ilerda and there awaited the invaders. Fabius overcame the garrison upon the Pyrenees, but as he was crossing the river Sicoris the enemy fell upon him suddenly and killed many of his men who were cut off ; for the bridge collapsed before all had crossed and thus proved of the greatest

- 3 πλείστον σφισι συνήρατο· τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι ἐπελθόντι τε οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καθ' ἑτέραν¹ γέφυραν διαβάντι, προκαλουμένῳ τε αὐτοὺς ἐς μάχην οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν ἐπὶ πάνυ πολλὰς ἡμέρας συμβαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀντιστρατο-
- 4 πεδευσάμενοι αὐτῷ ἡσύχαζον. θαρσήσας οὖν ἐκ τούτου καταλαβεῖν τὸ χωρίον τὸ² μεταξὺ τοῦ τε ταφρεύματός σφων καὶ τῆς πόλεως καρτερόν ὃν ἐπεχείρησεν, ὥς καὶ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσων. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τοῦτο οἱ περὶ τὸν
- 5 Ἀφράνιον προκατέσχον αὐτό, καὶ τοὺς τε προσβάλλοντάς σφισιν ἀπεώσαντο, καὶ φεύγουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπισπόμενοι τοὺς ἀντεπεξελθόντας ἐκ τοῦ ἐρύματος ὑπέστησαν, ἐνδόντες τε ἐξεπίτηδες ὑπήγαγόν σφας ἐς χωρία ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιτήδεια, κἀνταῦθα πολλῶ πλείους ἐφόνευσαν. κὰκ τούτων ἐπιθαρσήσαντες τοῖς τε προνομεύουσιν αὐτῶν ἐπετίθεντο καὶ τοὺς ἀποσκεδαννυμένους ἐλύπουν·
- 6 καὶ ποτε διαβάντων τινῶν ἐς τὰ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ποταμοῦ, κἀν τούτῳ χειμῶνός τε πολλοῦ γενομένου καὶ τῆς γεφύρας ἥ ἐκέχρητο διαφθαρείσης, ἐπιδιέβησαν κατὰ τὴν ἑτέραν γέφυραν τὴν πρὸς τῇ πόλει οὔσαν καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀνάλωσαν, μηδενός σφισιν ἐπαμῦναι δυνηθέντος.
- 21 Ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ, ὥς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο καὶ οὔτε τῶν συμμάχων τις ἐπεκούρει οἱ (ἐκδεχόμενοι γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐναντίοι, ὥς ἐκάστους αἰσθοῖντο προσιόντας, . . .³) τά τ'⁴ ἐπιτήδεια, ἅτε⁵ ἔν τε

¹ ἑτέραν R. Steph., ἑκατέραν L.² Lacuna recognized by Xyl.³ ἅτε Rk, τε L.⁴ τὸ R. Steph., τοῦ L.⁵ τ' added by Xyl.

BOOK XLI

assistance to the foe. When Caesar came up, not long afterward, he crossed the river by another bridge and challenged them to battle; but for a great many days they did not dare to try conclusions with him, but remained quietly encamped opposite him. Encouraged thereby, he undertook to seize the ground between their entrenchments and the city, as it was a strong position, with the intention of shutting them off from the walls. Afranius and his followers, on perceiving this, occupied the place first, repulsed their assailants, and pursued them when they fled. Then, when others came out against them from the camp, they at first withstood them, then yielded purposely, and so lured them into positions which were favourable to themselves, where they slew many more of them. In consequence of this they took courage, attacked their opponents' foraging parties and harassed those who were scattered. And on one occasion when some soldiers had crossed to the other side of the river and meanwhile a great storm had come up and destroyed the bridge which they had used, they crossed over after them by the other bridge, which was near the city, and destroyed them all, since no one was able to come to their assistance.

Caesar, when things were taking this course, fell into desperate straits; for none of his allies rendered him assistance, since his opponents met [and annihilated] the separate forces as often as they heard that any were approaching, and it was with difficulty that he managed to obtain provisions, inasmuch as he was

- ἀλλοτρία ὦν καὶ πταίων, χαλεπῶς ἐπορίζετο,
 2 ἐν παντὶ ἐγένετο. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ
 ἐν οἴκῳ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκείνου τε ὡς οὐκέτι πλείω
 χρόνον περιόισοντος¹ ἀπέγνωσαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν
 Πομπήιον ἀπέκλινον· καὶ τινες καὶ τότε πρὸς
 3 αὐτὸν ἄλλοι τε καὶ βουλευταὶ ἀπήρην. καὶ εἶγε
 μὴ οἱ Μασσαλιῶται ἐν τούτῳ ναυμαχία πρὸς
 τοῦ Βρούτου τῷ τε μεγέθει τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ
 ῥώμῃ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, καίπερ καὶ τῷ Δομιτίῳ
 συμμάχῳ χρώμενοι καὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ τῶν ναυτι-
 κῶν προέχοντες, ἡττήθησαν καὶ τούτου παντε-
 λῶς ἀπεκλείσθησαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκώλυσε πάντα
 4 τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῦ φθαρῆναι. νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ
 μεῖζον ἐκ παρασκευῆς τοῖς Ἰβηρσιν ἀγγελθέντα
 ταῦτα οὕτως ἡλλοίωσε τινας αὐτῶν ὥστε καὶ
 τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονῆσαι. καὶ αὐτοὺς παρα-
 λαβὼν τῆς τε τροφῆς ὑπόρρησε καὶ γεφύρας
 κατεσκεύασε, τοὺς τε ἐναντίους ἐλύπει, καὶ ποτε
 συχνούς αὐτῶν αἰφνίδιον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πλανω-
 μένους ἀπολαβὼν ἀπώλεσεν.
 22 Ὁ οὖν Ἀφράνιος ἀθυμήσας ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ
 τὰ ἐν² Ἰλέρδα οὔτε ἀσφαλῆ οὔτε ἐπιτήδεια
 πρὸς χρόνιον διατριβὴν ἰδὼν ὄντα, ἀναχωρῆσαι
 πρὸς τε τὸν Ἰβηρα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκεῖ πόλεις
 ἔγνω, καὶ νυκτός, ὡς λήσων ἢ φθάσων τοὺς
 2 ἐναντίους, ἄρας ἐπορεύετο. καὶ οὐκ ἔλαθε μὲν
 ἀνιστάμενος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ εὐθύς ἐπεδιώχθη·
 ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ οὐχ ἡγήσατο ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ἐν³
 σκότῳ πολεμίοις ἐμπείροις τῆς χώρας μετὰ
 ἀπείρων ἐπακολουθῆσαι. ὡς μέντοι ἡ ἡμέρα

¹ περιόισοντος R. Steph., περιόισοντο L.² ἐν added by R. Steph.³ ἐν added by St.

BOOK XLI

in a hostile territory and unsuccessful in his operations. The Romans at home, when they learned of this, renounced all hope of him, believing that he could hold out but a short time longer, and began to fall away to Pompey; and some few senators and others set out to join the latter even then. But just at this time the Massaliots were defeated in a naval battle by Brutus owing to the size of his ships and the strength of his marines, although they had Domitius as an ally and surpassed in their experience of naval affairs; and after this they were shut off completely. But for this nothing would have prevented Caesar's projects from being ruined. As it was, however, the victory was announced to the Spaniards with so much intentional exaggeration that it led some of them to change and take the side of Caesar. When he had obtained these adherents, he secured plenty of food, constructed bridges, harassed his opponents, and on one occasion intercepted suddenly a large number of them who were wandering about the country and destroyed them.

Afranius was disheartened at these reverses, and seeing that affairs in Ilerda were not safe or satisfactory for a prolonged stay, he determined to retire to the Iberus and to the cities there. He set out on the journey by night, intending to elude the enemy's notice or at least get the start of them. And though his departure did not remain undiscovered, yet he was not immediately pursued, for Caesar did not think it safe in the darkness and with men ignorant of the country to follow up an enemy that was well acquainted with it. When day

B.C. 49

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- διέλαμψεν, ἡπείχθη, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ
 ὁδῷ καταλαβὼν πανταχόθεν ἐξαπίνης πόρρωθεν
 περιεστοιχίσαστο· τῷ τε γὰρ πλήθει πολὺ περιῆν,
 καὶ τὸ χωρίον κοῖλον ὃν συμμαχοῦν ἔσχευ.
- 3 ὁμόσε γὰρ οὐκ ἠθέλησέ σφισι χωρῆσαι, τὸ μὲν
 τι φοβηθεῖς μὴ καὶ ἐς ἀπόνοϊαν καταστάντες
 ἐξεργάσωνται τι δεινόν, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἀκονιτί
 σφας παραστήσεσθαι¹ ἐλπίσας. ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο·
 ὡς γὰρ πολλαχῇ πειράσαντες οὐδαμῇ διαπεσεῖν
 ἠδυνήθησαν, καὶ ἔκ τε τούτου καὶ ἔκ τῆς ἀγρυ-
 πνίας τῆς τε πορείας ἐκεκμήκεσαν, καὶ προσέτι
- 4 οὔτε τροφὴν εἶχον (αὐθημερὸν γὰρ τὸν σταθμὸν
 διατελέσειν προσδοκήσαντες οὐδὲν ἐπηνέγκαντο)
 οὔθ' ὕδατος εὐπόρουν (τὰ γὰρ χωρία ἐκεῖνα
 δεινῶς ἐστὶν ἀνυδρά), παρέδοσάν σφας, ἐφ' ᾧ
 μήτε τι δεινὸν πάθωσι μήτε ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήϊον
- 23 ἀναγκασθῶσιν οἱ συστρατεῦσαι. καὶ αὐτοῖς
 ἀκριβῶς ἐκάτερον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐφύλαξεν· οὔτε
 γὰρ ἀπέκτεινε τὸ παράπαν τῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ
 πολέμῳ ἀλόντων οὐδένα, καίτοι ἐκείνων ποτὲ ἐν
 ἀνοχῇ τινὶ ἀφυλάκτως τινὰς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔχοντας
 φθειράντων, οὔτε τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἀντιπολεμῆσαι
 ἐξεβιάσαστο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν λογιμωτάτους ἠφίει,
 τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἐβελονταῖς συμμάχοις διὰ τε τὰ κέρδη
- 2 καὶ διὰ τὰς τιμὰς ἐχρήτο. καὶ οὐκ ἐλάχιστά
 γε ἐκ τούτων οὔτε ἐς τὴν δόξαν οὔτε ἐς τὰ
 πράγματα ἀπώνητο·² τὰς τε γὰρ πόλεις τὰς
 ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ πάσας καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς
 ἐκεῖ πάντας (ἦσαν δὲ ἄλλοι τε ἐν τῇ Βαιτικῇ

¹ παραστήσεσθαι Rem., παραστήσασθαι L.

² ἀπώνητο Naber, ἀπώνατο L

BOOK XLI

dawned, however, he hastened forward, and, overtaking them in the middle of their journey, he suddenly surrounded them on all sides at a distance ; for he was much superior in numbers and found the bowl-shaped character of the region a help. For he did not wish to come to close quarters with the enemy, partly because he was afraid that they might become desperate and carry out some rash undertaking, and partly because he hoped to win them over anyway without a conflict. This actually happened. They first tried to break through at many points, but were unable to do so anywhere, and became exhausted from this attempt as well as from loss of sleep and from their march ; furthermore, they had no food, since, expecting to finish their journey the same day, they had brought none along, and they were also without sufficient water, inasmuch as that region is terribly dry. They accordingly surrendered, on condition that they should not be harshly treated nor compelled to join his expedition against Pompey. Caesar kept each of his promises to them scrupulously. He did not put to death a single man captured in this war, in spite of the fact that his foes had once, during a truce, destroyed some of his own men who were caught off their guard ; and he did not force them to fight against Pompey, but released the most prominent and employed the rest as allies who were willing to serve for the gains and honours in prospect. By this course both his reputation and his cause profited not a little ; for he won over all the cities in Spain and all the soldiers there, a considerable

B.C. 49

καὶ μετὰ Μάρκου Τερεντίου Ουάρρωνος ¹ ὑποστρα-
τήγου συχνοί) προσεποιήσατο.

- 24 Παραλαμβάνων τε οὖν ἅμα αὐτοὺς καὶ καθιστά-
μενος διέδραμε μέχρι Γαδείρων. καὶ ἐλύπησε
μὲν οὐδένα οὐδὲν πλὴν χρημάτων ἐκλογῆς (ταῦτα ²
γὰρ παμπληθῇ ἐσέπραξεν), ἐτίμησε δὲ ³ καὶ ἰδίᾳ
καὶ κοινῇ πολλούς· καὶ τοῖς γε Γαδειρεῦσι
πολιτείαν ἅπασιν ἔδωκεν, ἣν καὶ ὁ δῆμός σφισιν
2 ὕστερον ἐπεκύρωσε. τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίησεν ἀμειβό-
μενός σφας τῆς τοῦ οὐνείρου ὀψεως, δι' ἧς ἐνταῦθα,
ὅτε ἐταμίευσε, συγγεγονέναι τῇ μητρὶ ἔδοξε, καὶ
ἀπ' ⁴ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς μοναρχίας, ὥσπερ
εἶπον, ἔλαβεν. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν ἔθνος ἐκεῖνο
τῷ Λογγίνῳ τῷ Κασσίῳ προσέταξεν, ἐπειδὴ
συνήθης αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς ταμείας ἦν ὑπὸ τῷ
3 Πομπηίῳ ἐτεταμιεύκει ἦν· ⁵ αὐτὸς δὲ μέχρι Ταρ-
ράκωνος ⁶ πλοίοις ἐκομίσθη. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ διὰ
τοῦ Πυρρηναίου προχωρῶν τρόπαιον μὲν οὐδὲν
ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἔστησεν, ὅτι μηδὲ ⁷ τὸν Πομπήιον
καλῶς ἀκούσαντα ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἦσθετο, βωμὸν δὲ δὴ
ἐκ ⁸ λίθων ξεστῶν συνωκοδομημένον μέγαν οὐ
πόρρω τῶν ἐκείνου τροπαίων ἰδρύσατο.
- 25 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, οἱ Μασσαλιῶται νεῶν
σφισι παρὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου αὐθις πεμφθεισῶν
ἀνεκινδύνευσαν. καὶ ἡττήθησαν μὲν καὶ τότε,
διεκαρτέρουν δέ, καίτοι καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἤδη
2 τὸν Καίσαρα ἔχοντα πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ τάς τε

¹ Ουάρρωνος R. Steph., ἄρωνος L.

² ταῦτα Reim., πάντα L. ³ δὲ Pflugk, τε L.

⁴ ἀπ' H Steph. ἐπ' L. ⁵ ἦν supplied by Reim. and Dindl

⁶ Ταρράκωνος Bs., Ταρρακῶνως L.

⁷ μηδὲ Rk., μήτε L. ⁸ ἐκ added by Reim.

BOOK XLI

number of whom were with Marcus Terentius Varro, B.C. 119 the lieutenant, besides others in Baetica.

So, taking charge of these and arranging their affairs, he advanced as far as Gades, injuring no one at all except in so far as the exacting of money was concerned; for of this he levied very large sums. Many of the natives he honoured both privately and publicly, and to all the people of Gades he granted citizenship, which the people of Rome later confirmed to them. This kindness he did them in return for the dream he had seen at the time he was quaestor there, wherein he had seemed to have intercourse with his mother; it was this dream that had given him the hope of sole rulership, as I have stated.¹ Having done this, he assigned that nation to Cassius Longinus, because the latter was familiar with the inhabitants from his quaestorship which he had served under Pompey; and he himself proceeded by ship to Tarraco. Thence he advanced across the Pyrenees, but did not set up any trophy on their summits, because he understood that Pompey had gained no good name for so doing; but he erected a great altar constructed of polished stones not far from his rival's trophies.

While this was going on, the Massaliots hazarded another conflict after ships had again been sent them by Pompey. They were defeated on this occasion also, and yet held out, even though they learned that Caesar was already master of Spain. They not only vigorously repulsed all attacks but

¹ See xxxvii, 52, 2

- προσβολὰς ἰσχυρῶς ὑπεκρούοντο, καὶ διοκωχὴν¹
 τινα ὡς καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, ἐπειδὰν ἔλθῃ, προσχωρή-
 σοντες ποιησάμενοι,² τὸν τε Δομίτιον ὑπέξέ-
 πεμψαν, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπιθεμένους σφίσιν
 ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς νυκτὸς οὕτω διέθεσαν ὥστε
 3 μὴδὲν ἔτι τολμήσαι. τῷ μέντοι Καίσαρι αὐτῷ
 ἐλθόντι³ ὡμολόγησαν καὶ ὃς ἐκείνων τότε μὲν
 τά τε ὄπλα καὶ τὰς ναῦς τά τε χρήματα
 ἀφείλετο, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα πλὴν
 τοῦ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὀνόματος. ἀνθ' ὧν ἡ Φώκαια⁴
 ἢ⁵ μητρόπολις σφῶν ἐλευθέρα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου
 ἀφείθη.
- 26 Καὶ στρατιωτῶν τινων ἐν Πλακεντία στασια-
 σάντων καὶ μηκέτ' ἀκολουθῆσαί οἱ ἐθέλοντων,
 πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τεταλαιπωρημένων, τὸ δ'
 ἀληθὲς ὅτι μήτε τὴν χώραν διαρπάζειν μήτε
 τὰλλα ὅσα ἐπεθύμουν ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπέτρεπε
 (καὶ γὰρ ἡλπιζον οὐδενὸς ὅτου⁶ οὐ τεύξεσθαι
 παρ' αὐτοῦ ἄτε καὶ ἐν χρεῖα τοσαύτῃ σφῶν
 2 ὄντος), οὐχ ὑπέειξεν, ἀλλὰ συγκαλέσας καὶ ἐκεί-
 νους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, τῆς τε παρ' αὐτῶν
 ἀσφαλείας ἔνεκα, καὶ ἵνα τῶν τε λεγομένων
 ἀκούσαντες καὶ τοὺς κολαζομένους ἰδόντες μὴδὲν
 ἔξω τῶν καθηκόντων ἐθελήσωσι⁷ πράξαι, ἔλεξε
 τάδε.
- 27 “Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, βούλομαι μὲν
 φιλεῖσθαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ συνεξαμαρ-

¹ διοκωχὴν Dind., διακωχὴν L.² ποιησάμενοι H. Steph., ποιησόμενοι L.³ ἐλθόντι Rk., ἐθελόντι L.⁴ Φώκαια R. Steph., φωκέα L.⁵ ἢ added by Bk.⁶ ὅτου Bk., ὅτου οὐδὲν L.⁷ ἐθελήσωσι R. Steph., ἐθελήσουσι L.

BOOK XII

also, after arranging a kind of armistice, on the plea that they were going over to Caesar, when he should come, sent Domitius out of the harbour secretly and caused such injuries to the soldiers who had attacked them by night in the midst of the truce, that these ventured to make no further attempts.¹ With Caesar himself, however, they made terms upon his arrival; and he at that time deprived them of their arms, ships and money, and later of everything else except the name of freedom. To offset this misfortune Phocaea, their mother city, was made free by Pompey B.C. 49

At Placentia some soldiers mutinied and refused to accompany Caesar longer, on the pretext that they were exhausted, but really because he did not allow them to plunder the country nor to do all the other things on which their minds were set; for their hope was to obtain from him anything and everything, inasmuch as he stood in so great need of them. Yet he did not yield, but, with a view to being safe from them and in order that after listening to his words and seeing the guilty punished they should feel no desire to transgress the established rules, he called together both the mutinous men and the others, and spoke as follows :

“Soldiers, I desire to have your affection, and still I should not choose on that account to share in your

¹ Caesar (*B.C.* ii 14) attributes the breaking of the truce to the Massaliots.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- τάνειν ἂν ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦθ' ἐλοίμην· ἀγαπῶ τε
 γὰρ ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐθέλοιμ' ἂν, ὡς πατὴρ παῖδας,
 2 καὶ σῶζεσθαι καὶ εὐθeneῖν¹ καὶ εὐδοξεῖν. μὴ
 γάρ τοι νομίσητε φιλοῦντος ἔργον εἶναι τὸ
 συγχωρεῖν τισιν ἃ μὴ προσήκει πράττειν, ἐξ ὧν
 καὶ κινδύνους καὶ ἄδοξίας ἀνάγκη πᾶσα αὐτοῖς
 συμβαίνειν, ἀλλὰ τό τε τὰ ἀμείνω αὐτοὺς διδά-
 σκειν καὶ τὸ τῶν χειρόνων ἀπείργειν καὶ νο-
 3 θεοῦντα καὶ σωφρονίζοντα. γνῶσεσθε δὲ ὅτι
 τὰληθῆ λέγω, ἂν μήτε πρὸς τὸ αὐτίκα ἢδὺν τὸ
 συμφέρον κρίνητε μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸ αἰεὶ ὠφέ-
 λιμον, μήτε τὸ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐκπιμπλάναι γεν-
 ναῖον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ κρατεῖν αὐτῶν νομίσητε εἶναι.
 αἰσχροὺς μὲν γὰρ παραχρῆμά τι ἡσθέντας ὕστερον
 μεταγνῶναι, δεινὸν δὲ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων κρατοῦντας
 ἡδονῶν τινων ἡττᾶσθαι.
- 28 “Πρὸς οὖν τί ταῦτα λέγω; ὅτι τὰ ἐπιτιήδεια
 ἀφθόνως ἔχοντες (λέξω γὰρ μετὰ παρρησίας,
 μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος· τήν τε γὰρ μισθοφορὰν
 ἐντελῆ καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν λαμβάνετε, καὶ τῆς τρο-
 φῆς αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ πολλῆς ἐμπίμπλασθε) καὶ
 μήτε πόνον τινὰ ἄδοξον μήτε κίνδυνον ἀνωφελῆ
 ὑπομένοντες, καὶ προσέτι τῆς μὲν ἀνδραγαθίας
 πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα γέρα καρπούμενοι, τῶν δ'
 ἁμαρτημάτων σμικρὸν ἢ οὐδὲν² ἐπιτιμώμενοι,
 2 οὐκ ἀξιούτε τούτοις ἀρκεῖσθαι. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα
 οὐ πρὸς πάντας ὑμᾶς (οὐδὲ γὰρ τοιοῦτοί ἐστε),
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνους μόνους οἵτινες τῇ ἑαυτῶν
 πλεονεξίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διαβάλλουσιν. ὑμεῖς
 μὲν γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς καὶ καλῶς

¹ εὐθeneῖν Dind., εὐθηνεῖν Rk., εὐθύνειν L.

² ἢ οὐδὲν Rk., οὐδὲ L.

BOOK XLI

errors. I am fond of you and could wish, as B.C. 40
a father might for his children, that you may be safe, be prosperous, and have a good reputation. For do not suppose it is the duty of one who loves to acquiesce in things which ought not to be done and for which it is quite inevitable that dangers and ill-repute should fall to the lot of those who do them, but rather to teach them the better way and keep them from the worse, both by admonishing and by correcting them. You will recognize that I speak the truth, if you will not estimate advantage with reference to the pleasure of the moment but rather with reference to what is permanently beneficial, and if you will avoid thinking that gratifying your desires is more noble than restraining them. For it is disgraceful to take a momentary gratification of which you must later repent, and it is absurd after conquering the enemy to be overcome yourselves by pleasures.

“Why now do I say this? Because although you have provisions in abundance,—I am going to speak frankly and without disguise: you get your pay in full and in season and you are always and everywhere supplied with food in plenty,—and although you endure no inglorious toil nor useless danger, and furthermore reap many great rewards for your bravery and are rebuked little, if at all, for your errors, yet you do not see fit to be satisfied with these things. I say this, now, not to all of you, for you are not all like this, but only to those who by their own greed are casting reproach on the rest. Most of you obey my orders very scrupulously

τοῖς τε παραγγέλμασι τοῖς ἐμοῖς πείθεσθε καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσι τοῖς πατρίοις¹ ἐμμένετε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ χώραν τοσαύτην καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν ἐκτήσασθε· ὀλίγοι δὲ δὴ τινες πολλὴν αἰσχύνην
 3 καὶ ἀδοξίαν ἅπασιν ἡμῖν προστρίβονται. καίτοι ἔγωγε πρότερον σαφῶς ἐπιστάμενος τοιούτους αὐτοὺς ὄντας (οὐδὲν γάρ μοι τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀμελές ἐστιν) οὐ προσεποιούμην εἰδέναι, νομίζων ἀμείνους σφᾶς ἐκ τοῦ λαθεῖν ἂν δοκεῖν² ἁμαρτόντας τινὰ γενήσεσθαι, τοῦ μὴ πλεονάσαντάς ποτε καὶ
 4 ἐφ' οἷς συνεγνώσθησαν κολασθῆναι· ἐπεὶ μέντοι αὐτοὶ τε ὥς καὶ³ ἑξόν σφισι πάνθ' ὅσα βούλονται πράττειν, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ πρῶτας εὐθύς ἐδίκαιώθησαν, ὑπερθρασύνονται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μηδὲν πλημμελοῦντας προσστασιάζειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστί μοι θεραπείαν τέ τινα καὶ
 29 ἐπιστροφὴν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλο τι σύστημα ἀνθρώπων συμμεῖναι καὶ σωθῆναι δύναται, ἂν μὴ τὸ κακουργοῦν σωφρονίζηται· τὸ γὰρ τοι νοσήσαν ἂν μὴ τὴν προσήκουσαν ἴασιν λάβῃ, συγκάμνειν⁴ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶν ὥσπερ ἐν
 2 τοῖς σώμασι ποιεῖ· ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς στρατιαῖς ἤκιστα, διότι αὐτοὶ τε ἰσχὺν ἔχοντες τολμηρότεροι γίνονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς προσδιαφθείρουσιν, ἄθυμοτέρους ποιοῦντες ὥς οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἐκ τοῦ δικαιοπραγεῖν ἔξοντας. παρ' οἷς γὰρ ἂν τὸ θρασυνόμενον πλεονεκτῇ, παρὰ τούτοις ἀνάγκη τὸ ἐπικεκὸς ἐλαττοῦσθαι· καὶ ἐν οἷς ἂν⁵ ἀδικία ἀτιμώρητος ᾖ, καὶ τὸ σωφρονοῦν ἀγέραστον γίνεται.

¹ πατρίοις Bs., πατρώοις L.² δοκεῖν Rk., δοκεῖ L.³ ὥς καὶ Rk., καὶ ὥς L.⁴ συγκάμνειν Reim., συγκάμνει L.⁵ ἂν added by St.

BOOK XLI

and satisfactorily and abide by your ancestral customs, B.C. 49
and in that way have acquired so much land as well as
wealth and glory ; but some few are bringing much
disgrace and dishonour upon all of us. And yet, though
I understood clearly before this that they were that
sort of persons,—for there is none of your concerns
that I fail to notice,—still I pretended not to know
it, thinking that they would reform if they believed
they would not be observed in some of their evil
deeds, through the fear that if ever they presumed
too far they might be punished also for the deeds
which had been pardoned them. Since, however,
they themselves, assuming that they may do whatever
they wish because they were not brought to book at
the very outset, wax overbold, and are trying to make
the rest of you, who are guilty of no irregularity,
mutinous likewise, it becomes necessary for me to
devote some care to them and to give them my
attention. For no society of men whatever can pre-
serve its unity and continue to exist, if the criminal
element is not punished, since, if the diseased mem-
ber does not receive proper treatment, it causes all
the rest, even as in our physical bodies, to share in
its affliction. And least of all in armies can discipline
be relaxed, because when the wrong-doers have
power they become more daring, and corrupt the
excellent also by causing them to grow dejected and
to believe that they will obtain no benefit from right
behaviour. For wherever the insolent element has the
advantage, there inevitably the decent element has
the worst of it ; and wherever wrong-doing is un-
punished, there self-restraint also goes unrewarded.

- 3 τί μὲν γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖν φήσαιτε,¹ εἰ μηδὲν οὗτοι κακὸν δρῶσιν; πῶς δ' ἂν εἰκότως τιμᾶσθαι ἐβελήσαιτε,² ἂν μὴ τὴν δικαίαν οὗτοι τιμωρίαν ὑπόσχωσιν; ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε τοῦθ', ὅτι ἂν τὸ μὲν τῶν φόβων τῆς δίκης ἐλευθερωθῇ, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος τῶν ἄθλων στερηθῇ, ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐδὲν
- 4 κακὰ δὲ μυρία ἀπεργάζεται; ὥστ' εἴπερ ἀρετὴν ὄντως ἀσκεῖτε, μισήσατε μὲν τούτους ὡς πολεμίους (οὐ γάρ που³ φύσει τινὲ τὸ φίλιον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ διακέκριται, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε τρόποις καὶ ταῖς πράξεσι διορίζεται, ὧν ἀγαθῶν μὲν ὄντων πάν καὶ τὸ ἀλλότριον οἰκιοῦνται, πονηρῶν δὲ πάν καὶ τὸ
- 30 συγγενὲς ἀλλοτριοῦνται), ἀπολογήσασθε⁴ δὲ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ καὶ ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτοὺς πάντας κακῶς ἀκούειν, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦμεν,⁵ πᾶς γάρ τις πυνθανόμενος τό τε πλήθος ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ὁρμὴν, ἐς πάντας ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ τοῖς ὀλίγοις πλημμελούμενα ἀναφέρει, καὶ οὕτω τῶν πλεονεξιῶν οὐ συμμετέχοντες αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τὸ ἴσον
- 2 φερόμεθα. τίς γὰρ ἂν οὐκ ἀγανακτήσειεν ἀκούων ὄνομα μὲν ἡμᾶς Ῥωμαίων ἔχοντας, ἔργα δὲ Κελτῶν δρῶντας; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν ὁρῶν ὀδύραιτο⁶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμοίως τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ πορθουμένην; πῶς δ' οὐ δεινὸν τὰ μὲν τῶν Γαλατῶν τῶν καταπολεμηθέντων μηκέθ' ἡμᾶς λυπεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων ὡς τινας Ἠπειρώτας ἢ Καρχηδονίους ἢ
- 3 Κίμβρους πορθεῖν; πῶς δ' οὐκ αἰσχρὸν σεμνύνεσθαι μὲν ἡμᾶς καὶ λέγειν ὅτι ἡμεῖς πρῶτοι Ῥω-

¹ φήσαιτε Pflugk, φήσετε L.² ἐβελήσαιτε Bk., ἐβελήσητε L. ³ που Pflugk, πω L.⁴ ἀπολογήσασθε R. Steph., ἀπολογήσασθαι L.⁵ ἀδικοῦμεν Pflugk, ἀδικῶμεν L.⁶ ὀδύραιτο H. Steph., ὠδύρετο L.

BOOK XLI

What merit, indeed, could you claim, if these men B.C. 4th are doing no wrong? And how could you reasonably desire to be honoured, if these men do not meet with their just punishment? Or are you not aware that if the one class is freed from the fear of retribution and the other is deprived of the hope of reward, no good is accomplished, but only countless ills? Hence, if you really are cultivating excellence, you should detest these men as enemies. For it is not by any characteristic of birth that what is friendly is distinguished from what is hostile, but it is determined by men's habits and actions. which, if they are good, can make that which is alien like unto itself, but if bad, can alienate everything, even that which is akin. And you should speak in your own defence, because by the behaviour of these few we must all gain a bad name, even if we have done no wrong. For every one who learns of our numbers and impetuosity refers the errors of the few to us all; and thus, though we do not share in their gains, we bear an equal share of the reproach. Who would not be indignant at hearing that while we have the name of Romans we do the deeds of Germans?¹ Who would not lament the sight of Italy ravaged like Britain? Is it not outrageous that we are no longer harrying the possessions of the Gauls whom we have subdued, but are devastating the lands south of the Alps, as if we were hordes of Epirots or Carthaginians or Cimbri? Is it not disgraceful for us to give ourselves airs and say that we were the first

¹ See note on xxxviii. 34

μαίων καὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον διέβημεν καὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐπλεύσαμεν, τὴν δὲ οἰκίαν ἀπαθῆ κακῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οὖσαν διαρπάσαι, καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν ἐπαίνου μέμψιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τιμῆς ἀτιμίαν, ἀντὶ δὲ κερδῶν ζημίαν, ἀντὶ δὲ ἄθλων τιμωρίας λαβεῖν;

- 31 “Μὴ γάρ τοι νομίσητε μήθ’, ὅτι στρατεύεσθε, κρείττους παρὰ τοῦτο τῶν οἴκοι πολιτῶν εἶναι· Ῥωμαῖοι γάρ ἐστε ἀμφοτέροι, καὶ ὁμοίως ὑμῖν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἐστρατεύσαντο καὶ στρατεύσονται· μήθ’, ὅτι ὅπλα ἔχετε, ἐξεῖναι ὑμῖν κακουργεῖν· οἷ τε γὰρ νόμοι κυριώτεροι ὑμῶν εἰσιν, καὶ πάντως
2 ποτὲ καὶ ταῦτα καταθήσεσθε. μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ τῷ πλήθει θαρσεῖτε· πολὺ γὰρ πλείους ὑμῶν οἱ ἀδικούμενοι, ἂν γε καὶ συστραφῶσιν, εἰσί. συστραφήσονται δέ, ἂν¹ τοιαῦτα ποιήτε.² μηδ’ ὅτι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκησατε, καὶ τούτων καταφρονεῖτε ὧν οὐδὲν οὔτε κατὰ γένος οὔτε³ κατὰ παιδείαν, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τροφῆς, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων,
3 διαφέρετε· ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ πού καὶ προσήκου καὶ συμφέρον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν, μήτε βιάζεσθῃ τινα αὐτῶν μήτ’ ἀδικεῖτε,⁴ ἀλλὰ τά τε⁵ ἐπιτήδεια παρ’ ἐκουσίων σφῶν λαμβάνετε καὶ τὰ γέρα παρ’ ἐκόντων προσδέχεσθε.

- 32 “Πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τοῖς εἰρηνέμοις, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ὅσα ἂν τις μηχανύων περὶ τῶν τοιούτων διεξέλθοι, καὶ ἐκεῖνο δεῖ ὑμᾶς προσλογίζεσθαι,⁶ ὅτι νῦν ἡμεῖς ἐνταῦθ’ ἤκομεν ἵνα τῇ τε πατρίδι ἀδικουμένη βοηθήσωμεν καὶ τοὺς κακουργοῦντας

¹ ἂν R. Steph., ἔαν L.

² ποιήτε R. Steph., ποιεῖτε L.

³ οὔτε κατὰ γένος οὔτε Bs., κατὰ γένος οὔτε L.

⁴ ἀδικεῖτε R. Steph., ἀδικήτε L.

⁵ τε Bk., μὲν L.

⁶ προσλογίζεσθαι R. Steph., προλογίζεσθαι L.

BOOK XII

of the Romans to cross the Rhine and to sail the ocean, and then to plunder our native land, which is safe from harm at the hands of our foes, and to receive blame instead of praise, dishonour in place of honour, loss instead of gain, punishment instead of prizes ?

B.C. 49

“Do not think, now, that, because you are soldiers, that makes you better than the citizens at home; for you and they alike are Romans, and they, as well as you, both have been and will be soldiers. Nor think, again, that because you have arms, it is permitted you to injure others: for the laws have more authority than you, and some day you will certainly lay down these weapons. Do not rely on your numbers, either: for the injured are, if they but unite, far more numerous than you. And they will unite, if you go on doing such deeds. Do not, because you have conquered the barbarians, despise the citizens also, over whom you have not the slightest superiority either in birth or in education, in training or in customs. Instead, as is proper and advantageous for you, do no violence or wrong to any of them, but receive your provisions from them of their own free will and accept your rewards from their willing hands.

“In addition to what I have just said and other considerations that might be mentioned if one chose to enlarge upon such matters, you must also bear in mind the fact that we have now come here to assist our outraged country and to defend her

- αὐτὴν ἀμυνόμεθα, ἐπεὶ εἶγε ἐν μηδενὶ δεινῷ ἦν,
 2 οὐτ' ἂν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἤλθομεν
 (οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν¹) οὐτ' ἂν τά τε τῶν Κελτῶν
 καὶ τὰ τῶν Βρεττανῶν ἀτέλεστα κατελίπομεν,
 3 οὐκοῦν πῶς μὲν οὐκ ἄτοπον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀδι-
 κούντων τιμωρίᾳ παρόντας ἡμᾶς μηδὲν ἥττον
 ἐκείνων πλεονεκτοῦντας φανῆναι; πῶς δ' οὐ
 σχέτλιον πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν τῆς πατρίδος ἀφι-
 γμένους συμμάχων αὐτὴν ἐτέρων ἀναγκάσαι καθ'
 4 ἡμῶν δεσθῆναι; καίτοι ἔγωγε τοσοῦτον περιεῖναι
 τοῖς δικαιώμασι τοῦ Πομπηίου νομίζω ὥστε καὶ
 ἐς δίκην πολλάκις αὐτὸν προκαλέσασθαι, καὶ
 ἐπειδὴ γε μὴ ἠθέλησεν εἰρηνικῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος
 διακριθῆναι, πάντα μὲν τὸν δῆμον πάντας δὲ τοὺς
 συμμάχους ἐλπίσαι διὰ τοῦτο προσθήσεσθαι.
 5 ἀλλὰ νῦν, ἂν γε καὶ τοιαῦτα ποιῶμεν, οὐτ' αὐτὸς
 ἐπιτήδειόν τι ἔξω προΐσχεσθαι οὔτε ἐκείνοις
 ἀνεπιεικὲς³ ἐγκαλέσαι. δεῖ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου
 πᾶσαν ἡμᾶς πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι· μετὰ μὲν γὰρ
 τούτου καὶ ἡ παρὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἰσχὺς εὐελπίς
 ἐστίν, ἄνευ δ' ἐκείνου βέβαιον οὐδέν, καὶ παραντίκα
 τις κατορθώσῃ τι, ἔχει.
- 33 “Καὶ ὅτι ταῦθ' οὕτω πέφυκε, καὶ ὑμῶν οἱ
 πλείους ἐπίστανται· πάντα γοῦν τὰ προσήκοντα
 ἀπαράκλητοι⁴ πράττετε. ὅθεν που καὶ ἐγὼ
 συνεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς, ἵνα καὶ μάρτυρας καὶ ἐπόπτας
 τῶν τε λεγομένων καὶ τῶν⁵πραττομένων ποιήσω-

¹ ἔξεστιν Xyl., ἔτ' ἔστιν L

² προσκατεργάσασθαι R. Steph., προσκατεργάσεσθαι L.

³ ἀνεπιεικὲς Rk., ἂν ἐπιεικὲς L.

⁴ ἀπαράκλητοι R Steph., ἀπαράβλητοι L

⁵ τῶν supplied by Bk.

BOOK XLI

against her oppressors. For, of course, if she were B.C 49
in no danger, we should neither have come into Italy under arms, since this is unlawful, nor should we have left unfinished our business with the Germans and the Britons, when we might have subjugated those regions also. Would it not be absurd, then, if we who are here for vengeance upon the wrong-doers should show ourselves no less greedy of gain than they? Would it not be outrageous if we who have arrived to aid our country should force her to require other allies against us? And yet I think my claims so much better justified than Pompey's that I have often challenged him to a judicial trial; and since he by reason of his guilty conscience has refused to have the matter decided peaceably, I hope by this act of his to attach the whole people and all the allies to my cause. But now, if we are going to act in this manner, I shall not have any decent excuse to offer nor be able to charge my opponents with any unbecoming conduct. We must also pay all heed to the justice of our cause; for with this the strength afforded by arms is full of hope, but without it that strength, even though for the moment it wins a success, has nothing enduring about it.

“ That this is true in the nature of things most of you understand; at any rate you fulfil all your duties without urging. That is precisely why I have called you together, to make you witnesses as well as

- 2 **μαι.** ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν¹ οὐ τοιοῦτοί ἐστε, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπαινείσθε· ὀλίγοι δὲ δὴ τινες ὁρᾶτε ὅπως, πρὸς τῷ πολλὰ κεκακουργηκέναι καὶ μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν δίκην δεδωκέναι, καὶ προσεπαπειλοῦσιν ἡμῖν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐγὼ οὐτ' ἄλλως καλὸν εἶναι νομίζω ἄρχοντά τινα τῶν ἀρχομένων
- 3 ἡττᾶσθαι, οὐτ' ἂν σωτήριόν τι γενέσθαι ποτέ, εἰ τὸ ταχθὲν ὑπηρετεῖν τινι κρατεῖν αὐτοῦ ἐπιχειρήσειεν. σκέψασθε δέ, ποῖος μὲν ἂν² κόσμος οἰκίας γένοιτο, ἂν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὄντες τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καταφρονήσωσι, ποῖος δὲ διδασκαλείων, ἂν οἱ φοιτῶντες τῶν παιδευτῶν ἀμελήσωσι; τίς ὑγίεια νοσοῦσιν, ἂν μὴ πάντα τοῖς ἰατροῖς οἱ κάμνοντες πειθαρχῶσι, τίς δὲ ἀσφάλεια ναυτιλλομένοις, ἂν οἱ ναῦται τῶν κυβερνητῶν ἀνηκου-
- 4 στῶσι; φύσει τε γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα τινὲ καὶ σωτηρία³ τὸ μὲν ἄρχειν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι τέτακται, καὶ ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἄνευ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν καὶ ἐφ' ὅποσονοῦν διαγενέσθαι. προσήκει τε τῷ μὲν ἐπιστατοῦντί τινος ἐκφροντίζειν τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐπιτάττειν, τῷ δὲ ὑποτεταγμένῳ πειθαρχεῖν τε ἀπροφασίστως καὶ ἐκπονεῖν τὸ
- 5 κελευόμενον· ἐξ οὗ καὶ μάλιστα τό τε ἔμφρον τοῦ ἄφρονος καὶ τὸ ἐπιστήμον τοῦ ἀνεπιστήμονος ἐν παντὶ προτετίμηται.
- 34 “Οὕτω δὴ οὖν τούτων ἐχόντων οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὔτε συγχωρήσαιμί τι τούτοις τοῖς θορυβήσασιν
- 2 ἀναγκασθεῖς οὐτ' ἂν ἐπιτρέψαιμι βιασθεῖς. ἡ γὰρ τὴν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰνείου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰούλου

¹ μὲν supplied by Bk.² ἂν supplied by Bk.³ ἀναγκαῖα τινὲ καὶ σωτηρία Rk., ἀναγκαῖα τινα καὶ σωτήρια L.

BOOK XLI

spectators of my words and deeds. But you are not B. C. 4th
the sort of men I have been mentioning, and it is
for this very reason that you receive praise; yet you
observe how some few of you, in addition to having
worked many injuries without suffering any penalty
at all for them, are also threatening us. Now I do
not believe it a good thing in any case for a ruler to
be overridden by his subjects, nor do I believe there
could ever be any safety if those appointed to
obey a person attempted to get the better of him.
Consider what sort of order would exist in a house-
hold if the young should despise their elders, or
what order in schools if the scholars should pay no
heed to their instructors! What health would there
be for the sick if the afflicted should not obey their
physicians in all points, or what safety for voyagers
if the sailors should turn a deaf ear to their captains?
Indeed, it is in accordance with a natural law, both
necessary and salutary, that the principles of ruling
and of being ruled have been placed among men,
and without them it is impossible for anything at all
to continue to exist for even the shortest time. Now
it is the duty of the one stationed over another both
to discover and to command what is requisite, and it
is the duty of the one subject to authority to obey
without questioning and to carry out his orders. It
is for this reason in particular that prudence is every-
where honoured above folly and understanding above
ignorance.

“Since these things are so, I will never yield
aught to these brawlers under compulsion nor give
them a free rein perforce. Why am I sprung from
Aeneas and Iulus. why have I been praetor, why

- γέγονα, τί δὲ ἐστρατήγησα, τί ὑπάτευσα, ἐπὶ τί
 δὲ ὑμᾶς τοὺς μὲν οἴκοθεν ἐξήγαγον τοὺς δ' ὕστερον
 προσκατέλεξα, ἐπὶ τί· τοσοῦτον ἤδη χρόνον τὴν
 3 ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἀνθύπατον ἔχω λαβών, ἂν γε
 δουλεύσω τινὶ ὑμῶν καὶ νικηθῶ τινος ὑμῶν
 ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην, δι'
 οὗ¹ καὶ Γαλάτας ἐχειρώσασθε καὶ Βρεττανῶν
 4 ἐκρατήσατε; τί δείσας καὶ τί φοβηθείς; μὴ μέ
 τις ὑμῶν ἀποκτείνῃ; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν πάντες ταῦτ'
 ἐφρονεῖτε, ἐκὼν ἂν ἀποθανεῖν εἰλόμην ἢ τό τε
 ἀξίωμα τῆς ἡγεμονίας καταλῦσαι καὶ τὸ φρόνημα
 5 τὸ τῇ προστατείᾳ προσῆκον ἀπολέσαι· πολὺ γάρ
 που πλείω πόλει κινδυνεύεται τοῦ ἑνα ἄνδρα ἀδίκως
 ἀποθανεῖν, ἂν ἐθισθῶσιν οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς τε
 στρατηγοῖς σφῶν προστάττειν τινὰ καὶ τὰ δίκαια
 35 τὰ τῶν νόμων ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ ποιεῖσθαι. ἀλλὰ
 τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲ ἐπηπείληκέ τις αὐτῶν (καὶ γὰρ
 ἂν καὶ παραχρῆμα εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι πρὸς ὑμῶν τῶν
 ἄλλων ἀπέσφακτο), τὴν δὲ δὴ στρατείαν ὡς
 κεκμηκότες ἐξίστανται καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ὡς καὶ
 πεπονημένοι κατατίθενται, καὶ πάντως, ἂν γε
 μὴ παρ' ἐκόντος μου τούτου τύχωσι, καὶ τὴν
 τάξιν ἐκλείψουσι² καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον
 μεταστήσονται· ἅπερ που καὶ³ παραδηλοῦσί
 2 τινες. καὶ τίς μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐθελήσειε τοιούτων
 ἀνθρώπων στερηθῆναι, τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν εὖξαιτο
 τοιούτους ἐκείνῳ στρατιώτας ὑπάρξαι, οἵτινες
 μῆτε τοῖς διδομένοις ἀρκοῦνται μῆτε τοῖς προσ-
 ταττομένοις πείθονται, ἀλλ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γῆρας

¹ οὗ "N" in Reimar's ed., ὧν L² ἐκλείψουσι R. Steph., ἐκλείψωσι L.³ καὶ added by R. Steph.

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consul, for what end have I brought some of you out B.C. 49
from home and levied others of you later, for what
end have I received and held the proconsular power
now for so long a time, if I am to be a slave to some
one of you and to be worsted by some one of you
here in Italy, close to Rome, I, to whom you owe
your subjugation of the Gauls and your conquest of
Britain? In fear or dread of what should I do so?
That some one of you will kill me? Nay, but if you
all were of this mind, I would voluntarily choose to
die rather than destroy the dignity of my position
as commander or lose the self-respect befitting my
leadership. For a far greater danger than the unjust
death of one man confronts the city, if the soldiers
are to become accustomed to issue orders to their
generals and to take the prerogatives of the law into
their own hands. No one of them, however, has so
much as made this threat; if any had, I am sure he
would have been slain forthwith by the rest of you.
But they are for withdrawing from the campaign on
the pretence of being wearied, and are for laying
down their arms on the pretence of being worn out:
and certainly, if they do not obtain my consent to
this wish of theirs, they will leave the ranks and go
over to Pompey, a fact which some of them make
perfectly evident. And yet who would not be glad
to be rid of such men, and who would not pray
that such soldiers might belong to Pompey, seeing
that they are not content with what is given
them and are not obedient to orders, but simulating
old age in the midst of youth and in strength

- καὶ ἐν ἰσχύι ἀσθένειαν προβαλλόμενοι δεσπόζειν
 τε τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τυραννεῖν τῶν ἡγουμένων
 3 σφῶν ἀξιούσιν; ἐγὼ γὰρ μυριάκις ἂν καὶ πρὸς
 τὸν Πομπήιον ὅπωςδὴποτε καταλλαγῆναι καὶ
 ἄλλο ὅτιοῦν παθεῖν ἐλοίμην ἢ τι ἀνάξιον τοῦ
 τε πατρίου φρονήματος καὶ τῆς ἑμαντοῦ προαιρέ-
 4 σεως πρᾶξαι. ἡ¹ ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι οὔτε δυναστείας
 οὔτε πλεονεξίας ἐπιθυμῶ, οὔδέ μοι πρόκειται
 πάντως τι καὶ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου καταπρᾶξαι,
 ὥστε τι ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ψεύσασθαι καὶ θωπεῦσαι
 καὶ κολακεῦσαί τινας; παύσασθε μὲν δὴ διὰ
 ταῦτα τῆς στρατείας, ὃ τί ἂν ὑμᾶς ὀνομάσαιμι;
 οὐ μέντοι ὥς καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ βούλεσθε καὶ φατέ,
 ἀλλ' ὥς τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμοὶ συμφέρει.”
- 5 Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκλήρωσεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ,
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν θρασυτάτους (οὔτοι γὰρ ἐκ παρα-
 σκευῆς ἔλαχον) ἐδικαίωσε,² τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὥς οὐδέν
 σφῶν δεόμενος διήκε.

- Καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν μετανοήσαντες ἐφ' οἷς ἔπραξαν
 36 ἀναστρατεύεσθαι ἔμελλον· ἐν ὁδῷ δὲ ἔτ' ὄντος
 αὐτοῦ Μᾶρκος Αἰμίλιος Λέπιδος, οὗτος ὁ καὶ
 ἐν τῇ τριαρχίᾳ³ ὕστερον γενόμενος, τῷ τε δήμῳ
 συνεβούλευσε στρατηγῶν δικτατορα τὸν Καίσαρα
 προχειρίσασθαι καὶ εὐθὺς εἶπεν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὰ
 2 πάτρια. καὶ ὃς ὑπέστη μὲν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐπειδὴ
 πρῶτον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆλθεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ
 φοβερὸν οὐδέν ἐν αὐτῇ ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε
 ἐκπεπτωκόσι κάθοδον πᾶσι πλὴν τοῦ Μίλωνος
 ἔδωκε, καὶ τὰς⁴ ἐς νέωτα ἀρχὰς ἀπέδειξεν (ἐς
 γὰρ τὸ παρὸν τότε οὐδένα ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπόντων

¹ ἡ added by Oddey. ² ἐδικαίωσε Reim., ἐδίωξε L.

³ τριαρχία Xiph., τριηραρχία L. ⁴ τὰς Leuncl., τὰ L.

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simulating weakness, they claim the right to lord B.C. 49
it over their rulers and to tyrannize over their
leaders? Why, I had a thousand times rather be
reconciled with Pompey on any terms whatever or
suffer any other conceivable fate than do anything
unworthy of the proud traditions of my fathers, or of
my own principles. Or are you not aware that it is
not sovereignty or gain that I desire, and that I am
not so bent upon accomplishing any thing by every
means at whatever cost and that I would lie and flatter
and fawn upon people to this end? Give up your
service, therefore, you—O what can I call you?
Yet still it shall be, not as you yourselves desire
and say, but as is profitable for the republic and
for myself."

After this speech he distributed lots among them
for the infliction of the death penalty, and executed
the most audacious; for these, as he had arranged
should be the case, drew the lots. The rest he
dismissed, saying he had no further need of
them.

So they repented of what they had done and
were ready to renew the campaign. While he was
still on the way Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, the man
who later became a member of the triumvirate,
advised the people in his capacity of praetor to elect
Caesar dictator, and immediately named him, contrary
to ancestral custom. The latter accepted the office
as soon as he entered the city, but committed no act
of terror while holding it. On the contrary, he
granted a return to all the exiles except Milo, and
filled the offices for the ensuing year; for up to that
time they had chosen no one temporarily in place of

- 3 ἀνθείλοντο· καίτοι μηδενὸς ἀγορανόμου ἐπιδη-
μοῦντος οἱ δήμαρχοι πάντα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα
αὐτοῖς διήγαγον), ἱερέας τε ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων
ἀντικατέστησεν, οὐ πάντα τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐν
τῷ τοιούτῳ νενομισμένα τηρήσας, καὶ τοῖς Γαλά-
ταις τοῖς ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἡριδανὸν
οἰκοῦσι τὴν πολιτείαν, ἅτε καὶ ἄρξας αὐτῶν,
- 4 ἀπέδωκε. ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς
δικτατορίας ἀπέειπε· τὴν γὰρ δὴ δύναμιν τό-
τε ἔργον αὐτῆς καὶ πάνυ αἰεὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔσχε.
τῇ τε γὰρ παρὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἰσχύι ἐχρήτο, καὶ
προσέτι καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔννομον δὴ τινα παρὰ τῆς
ἐκεῖ βουλῆς προσέλαβε· πάντα γὰρ μετὰ ἀδείας
ὅσα ἂν βουλευθῇ πράττειν οἱ ἐπετρέπη.
- 37 Τυχὼν δὲ τούτου μέγα εὐθὺς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον
πρᾶγμα διώρθωσεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ τε δεδανεικότες
τισὶ πικροτάτας τὰς ἐσπράξεις, ἅτε καὶ πολλῶν
χρημάτων διὰ τε τὰς στάσεις καὶ διὰ τοὺς
πολέμους προσδεόμενοι, ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ τῶν
ὀφειλόντων συχνοὶ οὐδέ ἐθέλοντες ἀποδοῦναί
- 2 τι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐδύνατο (οὔτε γὰρ ἀποδό-
σθαι τι οὔτε ἐπιδανείσασθαι ῥάδιον αὐτοῖς
ἐγίγνετο), καὶ τούτου πολλὰ μὲν ἄπιστα πολλὰ
δὲ καὶ δολερὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔπραττον, καὶ
δέος ἦν μὴ καὶ ἐς ἀνῆκεστὸν τι κακὸν προχωρή-
σωσιν, ἐμετριάσθη μὲν καὶ πρὸ τούτου πρὸς
- 3 δημάρχων τινῶν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς τόκους, ἐπεὶ δ'
οὐδ' ὥς ἀπεδίδοντο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τῶν ἐνεχύρων
ἐξίσταντο οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐν ἀργυρίῳ
ἀπῆτουν, ἀμφοτέροις τότε ὁ Καῖσαρ ὡς οἶόν τε
ἦν ἐπεκούρησε· τά τε γὰρ ἐνέχυρα πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν

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the absentees, and since there was no aedile in the city, the tribunes were performing all the duties devolving upon those officials. Moreover he appointed priests in place of those who had perished, though he did not observe all the ceremonies that were customary in their case at such a juncture; and to the Gauls living south of the Alps and beyond the Po he gave citizenship because he had once governed them. After accomplishing these things he resigned the title of dictator, since he had quite all the authority and functions of the position constantly in his grasp. For he exercised the power afforded by arms, and also received in addition a quasi-legal authority from the senate that was on the spot, in that he was granted permission to do with impunity whatever he might wish. B C 49

Having obtained this, he at once instituted an important and necessary reform. Those who had lent money, it seems, being now in need of large sums because of the civil strife and the wars, were collecting their loans most relentlessly, and many of the debtors for the same reasons were unable to pay back anything, even if they wished to do so, since they did not find it easy to sell anything or to borrow more. Hence their dealings with each other were marked by much deceit and fraud, and there was fear that they might go to the point of accomplishing some fatal mischief. To be sure, the rate of interest had been lowered even before this time by some of the tribunes; but since payment was not secured even thus, but instead the one class was ready to forfeit its securities, while the other demanded back its principal in cash, Caesar now came to the aid of both so far as he could. He ordered that

- ἐναποτιμηθῆναι ἐκέλευσε, καὶ δικαστὰς αὐτῆς τοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσί τι ἀποκληροῦσθαι προσέταξεν. ἐπειδὴ τε συχνοὶ πολλὰ τε χρήματα¹ ἔχειν καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ἀποκρύπτειν ἐλέγοντο, ἀπηγόρευσε μηδένα πλεῖον πεντακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων δραχμῶν ἐν ἀργυρίῳ ἢ καὶ χρυσίῳ κεκτῆσθαι, οὐχ ὥς καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν νόμον τοῦτον
- 2 τιθείς, ἀλλ' ὥς καὶ πρότερόν ποτε ἐσενεχθέντα ἀνανεοῦμενος, εἴτ' οὖν ἵνα τοῖς τε δανεισταῖς οἱ ὀφείλοντές τι ἐκτίνωσι καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις οἱ ἄλλοι δανείζωσιν, εἴτε καὶ ὅπως οἳ τε εὐποροῦντες ἐκδηλοὶ γένωνται καὶ χρήματα μηδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀθρόα ἔχῃ, μὴ καὶ ἀπόντος τι
- 3 νεωτερισθῇ. ἐπαρθέντος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ ἀξιούντος καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις μήνυτρα ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν προτεθῆναι,² οὔτε προσέγραψεν αὐτὸ τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐξώλειαν ἑαυτῷ προσεπηράσατο, ἃν ποτέ τι δούλῳ κατὰ τοῦ δεσπότης εἰπόντι πιστεύσῃ.
- 39 Καίσαρ μὲν δὴ ταῦτά τε πράξας καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου πάντα, ἀνελόμενος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἔτους, καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐς
- 2 ἣν ἐκεχειροτόνητο ἐσελθεῖν, ἐξώρμησε. καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ τῆς ἐκστρατείας ποιοῦντος ἱκτινος ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κλωνίου δάφνης ἐνὶ τῶν συμπαρόντων οἱ ἐπέρριψε· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῇ Τύχῃ θύοντος ὁ ταῦρος ἐκφυγὼν πρὶν τιτρώσκεσθαι, ἔξω τε τῆς πόλεως ἐξεχώρησε καὶ πρὸς λίμνην τινα
- 3 ἐλθὼν διενήξατο αὐτήν. καὶ καὶ τούτων ἐπὶ πλεον

¹ τε χρήματα Rk., χρήματά τε L.² προτεθῆναι H. Steph., προτεθείναι L.

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securities should have a fixed valuation according to their worth, and he provided that arbiters for this purpose should be allotted to persons involved in such a dispute. Since also many were said to possess much wealth but to be concealing it all, he forbade any one to possess more than sixty thousand sesterces in silver or gold ; and he claimed he was not enacting this law himself, but was simply renewing a measure introduced on some previous occasion. His object was either that those who were owing money should pay back a part of their debt to the lenders and the latter should lend to such as needed, or else that the well-to-do might become known and none of them should keep his wealth all together, for fear some rebellion might be set afoot during his absence. When the populace, elated at this, demanded also that rewards should be offered to slaves for information against their masters, he refused to add such a clause to the law, and furthermore invoked dire destruction upon himself if he should ever trust a slave when speaking against his master.

B.C. 49

After accomplishing this and removing all the offerings in the Capitol, as well as the others, Caesar hastened to Brundisium toward the close of the year, before entering upon the consulship to which he had been elected. And as he was attending to the details of his departure, a kite in the Forum let fall a sprig of laurel upon one of his companions. Later, while he was sacrificing to Fortune, the bull escaped before being wounded, rushed out of the city, and coming to a certain lake, swam across it. Consequently he took greater courage and hastened his

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preparations, especially as the soothsayers declared B.C. 49
that destruction should be his portion if he remained
at home, but safety and victory if he crossed the sea.
After his departure the boys in the city divided of
their own accord into two groups, one side calling
themselves Pompeians and the other Caesarians,
and, fighting with each other in some fashion or
other without arms, those conquered who used
Caesar's name.

While these events were occurring in Rome and
in Spain, Marcus Octavius and Lucius Scribonius
Libo, with the aid of Pompey's fleet drove out of
Dalmatia Publius Cornelius Dolabella, who was there
attending to Caesar's interests. After this they shut
up Gaius Antonius, who had been desirous of aiding
him, on a small island, and there, after he had been
abandoned by the natives and was oppressed by
hunger, they captured him with all his troops save
a few; for some had escaped in season to the
mainland, and others, who were sailing across on
rafts and were overtaken, made away with them-
selves.

Curio had meanwhile reduced Sicily without a
battle, since Cato, the governor of the island, being
no match for him and not wishing to expose the cities
to danger needlessly, had already withdrawn to join
Pompey; later, however, he crossed over to Africa
and there perished. Upon Curio's approach Lucius

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

γὰρ Καῖσαρ ὁ Λούκιος τὴν Ἀσπίδα τὴν πόλιν,
 ἐν ᾗ κατὰ τύχην ἄλλως ἦν, πρὸς τὸν ἐπίπλουν
 αὐτοῦ ἐξέλιπε, καὶ Πούπλιος Ἀττιος Οὐᾶρος ὁ
 τὰ¹ ἐκεῖ πράγματα τότε ἔχων καὶ στρατιώτας
 συχνοὺς καὶ πλοῖα συχὰ² ἤττηθεις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
 3 ἀπέβαλεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἰόβας Ἰεμφοῦ τε παῖς
 ὢν καὶ τῶν Νομάδων βασιλεύων, τά τε τοῦ
 Πομπηίου ὡς καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε βουλῆς
 προτιμῶν, καὶ τὸν Κουρίωνα διὰ τε τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι
 τὴν τε βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ δημαρχῶν ἀφελέσθαι
 καὶ τὴν³ χώραν δημοσιῶσαι ἐπεχείρησε, μισῶν,
 4 ἰσχυρῶς αὐτῷ προσεπολέμησεν. οἴκαδε μὲν γὰρ
 ἐς τὴν Νουμιδίαν οὐκ ἀνέμεινε αὐτὸν ἐσβαλεῖν,
 πολιορκοῦντι δέ οἱ Οὐτικὴν παντὶ μὲν ἅμα τῷ
 στρατῷ οὐ προσέμιξε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ προ-
 πυθόμενος ἐξαναχθείη (οὐ γάρ που⁴ ἀπώσασθαι
 αὐτὸν μάλλον τι ἢ τιμωρήσασθαι ἐπεθύμει),
 5 ὀλίγους δὲ τινὰς προπέμψας, καὶ προφημίσας
 ὡς αὐτὸς ἄλλοσέ ποι καὶ πόρρω γε ἀπεληλυθὼς
 εἶη, ἐφέσπετό τέ σφισι καὶ οὐ διήμαρτεν ὢν
 42 ἤλπισεν. ὁ γὰρ Κουρίων πρότερον μὲν, ὡς καὶ
 αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου προσιόντος, ἔς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον
 τὸ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ ὃν μετέστη, καὶ γνώμην
 ἐποιεῖτο τῶν τε νεῶν, ἂν βιάζηται, ἐπιβῆναι καὶ
 2 τὴν Ἀφρικὴν παντελῶς ἐκλιπεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὀλίγους
 τέ τινὰς καὶ τούτους ἄνευ τοῦ Ἰόβου ἀφικνεῖσθαι
 ἐπύθετο, ἐθάρσθη, καὶ εὐθὺς τῆς νυκτὸς ὡς καὶ
 ἐφ' ἑτοιμον νίκην, μὴ καὶ διαφύγωσιν αὐτόν, ἄρας
 ἐπορεύετο, καὶ τινὰς τῶν προδρόμων καθεύδοντας

¹ ὁ τὰ Leuncl., ὅτι L.

² πλοῖα συχὰ Jacoby, πόλεις καὶ L.

³ τὴν Rk., τὴν τε L.

⁴ που Bk., πω L.

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Caesar abandoned the city of Aspis¹ where he happened to be by mere chance, and Publius Attius Varus, then in charge of the affairs of that region, was defeated by him and lost many troops and many ships. Juba, however, the son of Hiempsal and king of the Numidians, preferred the cause of Pompey as that of the people and the senate, and hated Curio both on this account and because the latter when tribune had attempted to take away his kingdom from him and to confiscate the land; accordingly he carried on a vigorous war against him. For he did not wait for him to invade his home country of Numidia, but went to meet him while he was besieging Utica. He did not attack him, however, with his whole army, since he feared that Curio might put to sea if he learned in advance of his approach; for he was evidently not so eager to repulse him as to take vengeance on him. Instead, he sent forward a few men and spread the report that he himself had gone far away in another direction; then he followed after this force and did not fail of the results he had hoped for. For, though Curio, under the impression that his enemy was approaching, had previously transferred his men to the camp near the sea and had formed the plan, in case he were hard pressed, of embarking on the ships and leaving Africa altogether, he now, when he ascertained that only a few men were coming, and these without Juba, took courage and set out on the march that very night as if to a victory lying ready to hand, fearing that they might otherwise escape him; and after destroying some of the enemy's vanguard who were sleeping

¹ The Roman Clupea, situated on the coast east of Carthage

- ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ φθείρας πολὺ προθυμότερος ἐγένετο.
 3 καὶ τούτου τοῖς λοιποῖς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑὴν προκεχωρη-
 κόσιν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐντυχὼν οὐδεμίαν ἀνα-
 βολὴν ἐποίησατο, ἀλλὰ καίτοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν
 καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας
 τεταλαιπωρημένων ἐς χεῖράς σφισι παραχρήμα
 4 ἦλθε. καὶ τούτῳ ἐστώτων τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἀντιρρό-
 πως ἀγωνιζομένων, ὁ Ἰόβας αἰφνιδίως οἱ ἐπι-
 φανεῖς τῷ τε ἀδοκῆτῳ ἅμα αὐτὸν καὶ τῷ πλήθει
 κατειργάσατο, καὶ ἐκείνον μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 τοὺς πλείστους αὐτοῦ ταύτη¹ ἀπέκτεινεν, τοὺς
 δὲ² λοιποὺς μέχρι τε τῆς ταφρείας ἐπέδιώξε καὶ
 5 μετὰ τούτῳ ἐς τὰς ναῦς καθεῖρξε, καὶ³ τῷ ταραχῶ
 τούτῳ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων ἐκράτησε πολλοὺς
 δὲ ἄνδρας ἐφθειρε. συχνοὶ δὲ δὴ καὶ διαφυγόντες
 αὐτῶν ἀπώλοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐς τὰ πλοῖα
 ἐσβάσει ὑπὸ τοῦ ὠθισμοῦ σφαλέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ
 ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς σκάφεσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους αὐτῶν
 6 βαπτισθέντες. γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων, φοβηθέντες
 τινὲς μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτοῖς πάθωσι, προσεχώρησαν
 μὲν τῷ Οὐάρῳ ὥς καὶ σωθησόμενοι, εὗροντο δ'
 οὐδὲν ἐπιεικές· ὁ γὰρ Ἰόβας προισχόμενος ὅτι
 αὐτός σφας ἐνευικήκει, καὶ ἐκείνους πλὴν ὀλίγων
 ἐφόνευσεν. Κουρίων μὲν δὴ πλείστά τε τῷ
 Καίσαρι συναράμενος καὶ πάμπολλα αὐτὸν⁴
 7 ἐπελπίσας οὕτως ἀπώλετο· Ἰόβας δὲ πρὸς μὲν
 τοῦ Πομπηίου τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ
 βουλευτῶν τιμὰς τε εὔρετο καὶ βασιλεὺς προση-
 γορεύθη, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῶν τε ἐν τῇ

¹ αὐτοῦ ταύτη R. Steph., αὐτῇ ταύτῃ L.

² δὲ Pflugk, τε L.

³ καὶ Reim., καὶ L.

⁴ αὐτὸν Bk., ἐπ' αὐτὸν L.

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B.C. 49

on the road he became much more emboldened. Then, about dawn, he encountered the rest who had gone on ahead from the camp; and without any delay, in spite of the fact that his soldiers were exhausted both by the march and by want of sleep, he at once joined battle with them. Thereupon, when the others stood their ground and were holding their own, Juba suddenly appeared and by the unexpectedness of his arrival as well as by his numbers overwhelmed him. Curio and most of the others he killed on the spot, and the rest he pursued up to their entrenchments, later confining them to the ships; and in the midst of this rout he got possession of large amounts of treasure and destroyed many men. Indeed, many of them perished after escaping his grasp, some losing their footing while boarding the ships because of the crowding, and others going down with the vessels themselves when these became overloaded. While this was occurring still others, out of fear that they might suffer the same fate, went over to Varus, expecting that their lives would be spared; but they received no considerate treatment. For Juba asserted that it was he who had conquered them, and so slew nearly all of these, too. Thus Curio died after rendering most valuable assistance to Caesar and inspiring in him many hopes. And Juba received honours at the hands of Pompey and the senators who were in Macedonia, and was saluted as king; but by Caesar and those in the city he

πόλει αἰτίαν εἶχε καὶ πολέμιος ἀπεδείχθη, ὃ τε Βόρκος καὶ ὁ Βογούας βασιλῆς,¹ ὅτι ἐχθροὶ αὐτῷ² ἦσαν, ὠνομάσθησαν.³

- 43 Τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει διττοὶ τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἄρχοντες παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐγένοντο καὶ μάχη μεγίστη δὴ συνηνέχθη. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄστει καὶ ὑπάτους τὸν τε Καίσαρα καὶ Πούπλιον Σερουίλιον καὶ στρατηγούς τὰ τε ἄλλα τέλη⁴ τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἤρηντο, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονικῇ
- 2 τοιοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν προπαρεσκευάσαντο, καίτοι τῆς τε ἄλλης βουλῆς ἐς διακοσίους, ὥς φασί τινες, καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔχοντες, καὶ τι καὶ χωρίον ἐς τὰ οἰωνίσματα, τοῦ δὴ καὶ ἐν νόμῳ δὴ τινα αὐτὰ δοκεῖν γίγνεσθαι, δημοσιώσαντες, ὥστε καὶ τὸν δῆμον δι' αὐτῶν τήν τε πόλιν ἅπασαν ἐνταῦθα
- 3 εἶναι νομίζεσθαι (αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι τὸν νόμον οἱ ὑπατοὶ τὸν φρατριατικὸν⁵ οὐκ ἐσσηνύχεσαν), τοῖς δὲ δὴ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις οἷσπερ⁶ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐχρήσαντο, τὰς ἐπωνυμίας σφῶν μόνας μεταβαλόντες καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθυπάτους τοὺς δὲ ἀντιστρατήγους τοὺς δὲ ἀντιταμίας ὀνομάσαντες.
- 4 πάνν γάρ που τῶν πατρίων αὐτοῖς ἔμελε τὰ τε ὅπλα ἀνταιρομένοις καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐκλελοιπόσιν, ὥστε μὴ πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα πρὸς τὴν τῶν παρόντων ἀπαίτησιν καὶ παρὰ τὴν τῶν τετα-
- 5 γμένων ἀκρίβειαν ποιεῖν. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν ὀνόματι οὗτοί σφισιν ἐκατέροις ἤρχον, ἔργῳ δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ, τῆς μὲν φήμης ἕνεκα τὰς

¹ βασιλῆς Bs., βασιλεῖς L

² αὐτῷ Pflugk, αὐτῶν L.

³ ἦσαν ὠνομάσθησαν Xyl., ἀνωμάσθησαν L.

⁴ τέλη supplied by Bs. ⁵ φρατριατικὸν Reim., φρατριακὸν L.

⁶ οἷσπερ Reim., τοῖσπερ L.

BOOK XLI

was called to account and declared an enemy, while Bocchus and Bogud were named kings, because they were hostile to him. B.C. 49

The ensuing year the Romans had two sets of magistrates, contrary to custom, and a mighty battle was fought. The people of the city had chosen as consuls Caesar and Publius Servilius, along with praetors and all the other officers required by law. Those in Thessalonica had made no such appointments, although they had by some accounts about two hundred of the senate and also the consuls with them and had appropriated a small piece of land for the auguries, in order that these might seem to take place under some form of law, so that they regarded the people and the whole city as present there. They had not appointed new magistrates for the reason that the consuls had not proposed the *lex curiata*¹; but instead they employed the same officials as before, merely changing their names and calling some pro-consuls, others propraetors, and others proquaestors. For they were very careful about precedents, even though they had taken up arms against their country and abandoned it, and they were anxious that the acts rendered necessary by the exigencies of the situation should not all be in violation of the strict requirement of the ordinances. Nevertheless, these men mentioned were the magistrates of the two parties in name only, while in reality it was Pompey and Caesar who were supreme; for the sake of good repute they bore the legal titles of proconsul and B.C. 48

¹ The *lex curiata de imperio*, passed by the *comitia curiata*, formally conferred upon a consul or praetor his authority. Though largely a matter of form at this time, the magistrate was nevertheless not felt to be fully in possession of the privileges of his office until this vote had been passed.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐννόμους ἐπικλήσεις,¹ ὁ μὲν τὴν τοῦ ὑπάτου ὁ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου, ἔχοντες, πράττοντες δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἐκεῖναι ἐπέτρεπον ἀλλ' ὅσα αὐτοὶ ᾔθελον.

- 44 Τοιούτων δὲ δὴ τούτων ὄντων καὶ δίχα τῆς ἀρχῆς μεμερισμένης, Πομπήιος μὲν δὴ ἔν τε τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ ἐχείμαζε καὶ φυλακὴν οὐκ ἀκριβῆ τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἐποιεῖτο (οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἤδη τὸν Καίσαρα ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀφίχθαι ἐνόμιζε, εἴ τε καὶ παρείη, ἀλλ' ἔν γε τῷ χειμῶνι οὐχ ὑπώπτεισεν αὐτὸν τολμήσειν τὸν
- 2 Ἰόνιον διαβαλεῖν), Καίσαρ δὲ ἦν μὲν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ τὸ ἔαρ ἀναμένων, πυθόμενος δὲ ἐκεῖνόν τε πόρρω² ὄντα καὶ τὴν καταντιπέρας ἡπειρον ἀμελῶς τηρουμένην, τό τε καινὸν τοῦ πολέμου ἥρπασε καὶ τῷ ἀνειμένῳ³ αὐτοῦ ἐπέθετο. μεσοῦντος γοῦν τοῦ χειμῶνος μέρει τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπήρην (οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἱκαναὶ νῆες ὥστε πάντας ἅμα αὐτοὺς
- 3 περᾶσαι), καὶ λαθὼν τὸν Βίβουλον τὸν Μάρκον, ᾧ ἡ θάλασσα φρουρεῖσθαι προσετέτακτο, ἐπειραιώθη πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τὰ Κεραύνια ὀνομασμένα· ἔστι δὲ ἔσχατα τῆς Ἠπείρου, πρὸς τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου. καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα πρὶν ἔκπυστος ὅτι καὶ πλευσεῖται γενέσθαι, τὰς ναῦς
- 4 ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔστειλε· καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ Βίβουλος ἀνακομιζομένας ἐκάκωσε, καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἀνεδήσατο, ὥστε τὸν Καίσαρα ἔργῳ μαθεῖν ὅτι εὐτυχέστερον τὸν πλοῦν ἢ εὐβουλότερον ἐπεποίητο.

¹ τὰς ἐννόμους ἐπικλήσεις Rk., τῆς ἐννόμου καὶ ἐπικλήσεις L.

² τε πόρρω Pflugk, τε πόρρω τε L.

³ ἀνειμένῳ Rk., ἀνέμῳ L.

BOOK XLI

consul respectively, yet their acts were not those B.C. 48 which these offices permitted, but whatever they themselves pleased.

Under these conditions, with the government divided in twain, Pompey was wintering in Thessalonica and not keeping a very careful watch upon the coast; for he did not suppose that Caesar had yet arrived in Italy from Spain, and even if he were there, he did not suspect that he would venture to cross the Ionian Gulf in the winter, at any rate. But Caesar was in Brundisium, waiting for spring, and when he ascertained that Pompey was some distance off and that the mainland opposite was rather carelessly guarded, he seized upon the "chance of war¹" and attacked him while his attention was relaxed. At any rate, when the winter was about half gone, he set out with a portion of his army, as there were not enough ships to carry them all across at once, and eluding Marcus Bibulus, to whom the guarding of the sea had been committed, he crossed to the Ceraunian Headlands, as they are called, the outermost point of Epirus, near the mouth of the Ionian Gulf. Arriving there before it became noised abroad that he would sail at all, he sent the ships to Brundisium for the others; but Bibulus damaged them on the return voyage and actually took some in tow, so that Caesar learned by experience that the voyage he had made was more fortunate than prudent.

¹ The expression τὸ καινὸν τοῦ πολέμου appears first in Thucydides (iii 30), and soon became proverbial; cf. Polybius xxix. 6, Diodorus xx. 30, 67, Cic. *ad Att.* v 20, 3. Dio uses it again in xlix 5, 1. It seems to be used generally in the favourable sense of "the (lucky) chance of war." The proverb ran πολλὰ τὰ καινὰ τοῦ πολέμου ("many are the surprises of war").

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- 45 Ἐν δ' οὖν τῇ διατριβῇ ταύτῃ τό τε Ὀρικόν¹
καὶ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἄλλα τε τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων
ἐκλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Πομπηίου φρουρῶν
παρεστήσατο. ἡ δὲ Ἀπολλωνία αὕτη ἡ² Κο-
ρινθία ἐν καλῷ μὲν τῆς γῆς ἐν καλῷ δὲ καὶ τῆς
2 θαλάσσης ποταμῶν τε ἄριστα κείται. ὃ τε
μάλιστα διὰ πάντων ἐθαύμασα, πῦρ πολὺ πρὸς
τῷ Ἀώῳ³ ποταμῷ ἀναδίδεται, καὶ οὔτε ἐπὶ
πλείον τῆς πέριξ γῆς ἐπεξέρχεται, οὔτ' αὐτὴν
ἐκείνην ἐν ᾗ ἐνδιαίτῃται ἐκπυροῖ ἢ καὶ κραυροτέραν
πῇ ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόας καὶ δένδρα καὶ πάνν
πλησία θάλλοντα ἔχει πρὸς τε τὰς ἐπιχύσεις
3 τῶν ὕμβρων ἐπαύξει καὶ ἐς ὕψος ἐξαίρεται. καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο αὐτό τε Νυμφαῖον ὀνομάζεται καὶ δὴ
καὶ μαντεῖον τοιόνδε τι παρέχεται. λιβανωτὸν
δὴ λαβών, καὶ προσευξάμενος ὃ τι ποτὲ καὶ
4 βούλει, ῥίπτεις αὐτὸν τὴν εὐχὴν φέροντα. κὰν
τούτῳ τὸ πῦρ, ἂν μὲν τι ἐπιτελὲς ἢ⁴ ἐσόμενον,
δέχεται αὐτὸν ἐτοιμότατα, κὰν ἄρα καὶ ἔξω πού
προπέσῃ,⁵ προσδραμὸν ἤρπασε καὶ κατανάλωσεν·
ἂν δὲ ἀτέλεστον ᾖ, οὔτ' ἄλλως αὐτῷ προσέρχεται,
κὰν ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν φλόγα φέρηται, ἐξαναχωρεῖ τε
5 καὶ ἐκφεύγει. καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐκάτερα περὶ
πάντων ὁμοίως, πλὴν θανάτου τε καὶ γάμου,
ποιεῖ· περὶ γὰρ τούτων οὐδὲ ἕξοστί τινι ἀρχὴν
αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι τι.
- 46 Τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὃ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ
βραδύνοντος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ὃ τοὺς ὑπομείναντας
ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ κομίσαι ἐπετέτακτο, καὶ οὐδὲ

¹ Ὀρικόν R. Steph., ὠρικόν L. ² ἡ added by Bk.

³ Ἀώῳ Palmerius, following Casaubon, ἄνα L.

⁴ ἢ Pflugk, εἴη L. ⁵ προπέσῃ Rk., προσπέσῃ L.

BOOK XLI

During this delay, then, he won over Oricum D C 48 and Apollonia and other points there which had been abandoned by Pompey's garrisons. This Corinthian Apollonia¹ is well situated as regards the land and as regards the sea, and most excellently in respect to rivers. What I have marvelled at, however, above all else, is that a huge fire issues from the ground near the Aous river and neither spreads to any extent over the surrounding land nor sets on fire even the place where it abides nor makes it at all dry, but has grass and trees flourishing very near it. In pouring rains it increases and towers aloft. For this reason it is called Nymphaeum,² and in fact it furnishes an oracle, of this kind. You take incense, and after making whatever prayer you wish cast it in the fire as the vehicle of the prayer. At this the fire, if your wish is to be fulfilled, receives it very readily, and even if the incense falls somewhere outside, darts forward, snatches it up, and consumes it. But if the wish is not to be fulfilled, the fire not only does not go to it, but, even if it falls into the very flames, recedes and flees before it. It acts in these two ways in all matters save those of death and marriage; for concerning these two one may not make any inquiry of it at all. Such is the nature of this marvel.

Now as Antony, to whom had been assigned the duty of conveying across those who remained at Brundisium, continued to tarry, and no message even

¹ Cf. Frag. 42.

² I.e. "Temple of the Nymphs."

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- ἀγγελίας τινὸς περὶ αὐτῶν διὰ τε τὸν χειμῶνα
καὶ διὰ τὸν Βίβουλον φοιτώσης, ὑπώπτευσέ
σφας μεσεύειν τε καὶ ἐφεδρεύειν τοῖς πράγμασιν,
2 οἷά που ἐν ταῖς στάσεσι φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι. καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο βουλευθεὶς αὐτὸς καὶ μόνος γε ἐς τὴν
Ἰταλίαν πλεῦσαι, ἐπέβη μὲν ἀκατίου τινὸς ὥς τις
ἄλλος, λέγων ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος πεπέμφθαι, καὶ
τὸν κυβερνήτην αὐτοῦ καίπερ πνεύματος ὄντος
3 ἐξεβιάσατο ἀναχθῆναι· ὥς μέντοι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς
ἐγένοντο καὶ ὁ τε ἄνεμος ἰσχυρῶς κατέσπερχε καὶ
ὁ κλύδων δεινῶς σφας ἐξετάραττεν, ὥστε τὸν
κυβερνήτην μῆδ' ἀναγκαζόμενον ἔτι τολμῆσαι
περαιτέρω πλεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ
ἐπανιέναι ἐπιχειρήσαι,¹ ἐξέφηνεν ἑαυτὸν καθάπερ
ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα παύσων, καὶ ἔφη
4 “θάρσει· Καίσαρα γὰρ ἄγεις.” τοιοῦτον μὲν
δὴ φρόνημα καὶ τοιαύτην ἐλπίδα ἦτοι τὴν ἄλλως
ἢ καὶ ἐκ μαντείας τινὸς εἶχεν ὥστε καὶ παρὰ τὰ
φαινόμενα πίστιν τῆς σωτηρίας ἐχέγγυον ποιεί-
σθαι· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπεραιώθη, ἀλλ’² ἐπὶ πολὺ
μάτην πονήσας ἀνέπλευσεν.
- 47 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῷ Πομπηίῳ περὶ τὸν Ἄψον
ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον
τῆς ἀφίξεως αὐτοῦ ἦσθετο, οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο,³ ἀλλὰ
ἐλπίσας ῥαδίως αὐτόν, πρὶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς
μετὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ὄντας προσλαβεῖν, κατεργά-
σεσθαι,⁴ σπουδῇ πρὸς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν δυνάμει
2 τινὶ ἤλασεν. ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ μέχρι μὲν τοῦ
ποταμοῦ ἀπήντησέν οἱ, νομίσας ἀξιόμαχος καὶ

¹ ἐπιχειρήσαι Xiph., ἐπεχείρησεν L.

² ἀλλ’ Rk., ἀλλ’ ὥς L.

³ ἀνεβάλετο R. Steph., ἀνεβάλλετο L.

⁴ κατεργάσεσθαι Rk., κατεργάσασθαι L.

BOOK XLI

came about them because of the winter and because of Bibulus, Caesar suspected that they had adopted a neutral attitude and were watching the course of events, as often happens in civil strife. Wishing, therefore, to sail to Italy in person and unattended, he embarked on a small boat in disguise, saying that he had been sent by Caesar; and he forced the captain to set sail, although there was a wind. When, however, they had got away from land, and the gale swept violently down upon them and the waves buffeted them terribly, so that the captain did not longer dare even under compulsion to sail farther, but undertook to return even without his passenger's consent, then Caesar revealed himself, as if by this act he could stop the storm, and said, "Be of good cheer: you carry Caesar." Such spirit and such hope had he, either naturally or as the result of some oracle, that he felt firm confidence in his safety even contrary to the appearance of things. Nevertheless, he did not get across, but after struggling for a long time in vain sailed back. B.C. 49

After this he encamped opposite Pompey, near Apsus. For Pompey, as soon as he had learned of his arrival, had made no delay, but hoping to crush him easily before he should receive the others who were with Antony, hastily marched with a considerable force toward Apollonia. Caesar advanced to meet him as far as the river, thinking that even as he was he would prove a match for the troops

ὥς τοῖς τότε προσιοῦσι γενήσεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν ὅτι πολλὴ τῷ πλήθει ἡλαττοῦτο, ἡσύχασε. καὶ ὅπως γε μήθ' ὑπὸ δέους τοῦτο ποιεῖν μήτε ἐξάρχειν τοῦ πολέμου νομισθεῖν, λόγους τέ τινας συμβατηρίους σφίσι καθίει¹ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο

3 διήγε. γνούς δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος συμβαλεῖν μὲν αὐτῷ ὥς ὅτι τάχιστα ἠθέλησε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπιδιαβῆναι ἐπεχείρησεν· ὥς δὲ ἡ γέφυρα βάρος λαβοῦσα διελύθη καὶ τινες τῶν προδιαβεβηκότων μονωθέντες ἀπώλοντο, ἐπέσχευ ἀθυμήσας ὅτι πρῶτον τῶν τοῦ πολέμου ἔργων ἀπτόμενος ἐπταίκει.

- Κὰν τοῦτῳ καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐπελθόντος
- 48 φοβηθεὶς ἀπεχώρησε πρὸς τὸ Δυρράχιον. τέως μὲν γὰρ ὁ Βίβουλος ἔζη, οὐδ' ἀπάραι ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου ἐτόλμησεν· τοσαύτη που φυλακὴ αὐτοῦ ἐγίγνετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτός τε ἐκκαμὼν ὑπὸ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας ἐτελεύτησε καὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν ὁ Λίβων διεδέξατο, κατεφρόνησεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνηγάγετο ὥς καὶ βιασόμενος τὸν ἐκπλουν.
- 2 καταραχθεὶς τε ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμύνατό τε αὐτὸν ἰσχυρῶς προσβαλόντα οἱ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπεκβῆναί ποι βουλευθέντα οὐδαμῇ τῆς ταύτης
- 3 ἡπείρου προσορμισθῆναι εἶασεν. ἀπορήσας οὖν ὁ Λίβων καὶ ὄρμου καὶ ὕδατος (τὸ γὰρ νησίδιον τὸ πρὸς τοῦ λιμένος ὃν, ἐς ὅπερ μόνον προσέχειν ἐδύνατο, καὶ ἄνυδρον καὶ ἀλίμενόν ἐστιν) ἀπέπλευσε πόρρω ποι, ὅπου ἀμφοτέρων εὐπορή-
- 4 σειν ἔμελλε. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐξαναχθεὶς ὕστερον πρὸς μὲν ἐκεῖνου, καίπερ μετεώροις σφίσιν ἐπιχειρήσαι ἐβελήσαντος, οὐδὲν ἔπαθε·

¹ καθίει Dind., καθέλει L.

BOOK XLI

then approaching; but when he learned that he was far inferior in numbers, he halted. And in order that it might not be thought either that he was halting through fear or that he was making the first move in the war, he submitted some conciliatory proposals to the other side and delayed on this pretext. Pompey, perceiving his motive, wished to try conclusions with him as soon as possible and for this reason undertook to cross the river. But the bridge broke down under the weight and some of the advance guard, thus isolated, perished. Then he desisted, discouraged because he had failed in the first action of the war. B.C. 48

Meanwhile Antony also had arrived, and Pompey in fear retired to Dyrrachium. As long as Bibulus was alive, Antony had not dared even to set out from Brundisium, so close guard did the other keep over it; but when Bibulus, succumbing to the hardships, died, and Libo succeeded him as admiral, Antony scorned him and set sail with the intention of forcing the passage. When driven back to land, he repelled the other's vigorous attack upon him and later, when Libo was anxious to disembark somewhere, he allowed him to find anchorage nowhere along that part of the mainland. So the admiral, being in need of anchorage and water, since the little island in front of the harbour, which was the only place he could approach, is destitute of water and harbour alike, sailed off to some distant point where he was likely to find both in abundance. In this way Antony was enabled to set sail, but later, although he met with no harm at Libo's hands, even when the other attempted to attack them on

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χειμῶν γὰρ σφοδρὸς ἐπιγενόμενος ἐκώλυσε τὴν ἐπίθεσιν· πρὸς δὲ δὴ αὐτοῦ τούτου ἀμφότεροι ἐκακοπάθησαν.

- 49 Διασωθέντων δ' οὖν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὃ τε Πομπήιος ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ θαρσύνσας, ὅτι τῷ πλήθει τῶν τότε συνόντων οἱ περιῆν
 2 ἐκ τῶν προσγεγεννημένων. τὸ δὲ Δυρράχιον ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ πρότερον μὲν Ἰλλυριῶν τῶν Παρθινῶν, νῦν δὲ καὶ τότε γε ἤδη¹ Μακεδονίας² νενομισμένη κεῖται, καὶ ἔστιν ἐπικαιρότατον, εἴτ' οὖν ἡ Ἐπίδαμνος ἢ³ τῶν Κερκυραίων εἴτε καὶ ἑτέρα τις οὔσα. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦτο γράψαντες τῇν τε κτίσιν αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐς Δυρράχιον ἤρωα
 3 ἀναφέρουσιν· οἱ δ' ἕτεροι Δυρράχιον ἀντονομασθῆναι τὸ χωρίον ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τὴν τῆς βαχίας δυσχέρειαν ἔφασαν, ὅτι ἡ τῆς Ἐπιδάμνου πρόσρησις ζημιώδη δήλωσιν ἐν τῇ τῶν Λατίνων γλώσσει ἔχουσα δυσοιώνιστός σφισιν ἐς τὸ περαιούσθαι ἐς αὐτὴν ἔδοξεν εἶναι.
- 50 Πρὸς οὖν τοῦτο τὸ Δυρράχιον ὁ Πομπήιος καταφυγὼν στρατόπεδόν τε ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐποίησατο, καὶ τάφρους βαθείας σταυρώματά τε ἰσχυρὰ περιεβάλετο.⁴ καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπιστρατοπεδεύσας προσέμιξε μὲν ὥς καὶ δι' ὀλίγου τὸ χαράκωμα τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἰρήσων, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκρούσθη, ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτὸ ἀπο-
 2 τειχίσαι. καὶ ἐκεῖνός τε ἅμα τοῦτ' εἰργάζετο, καὶ

¹ ἤδη Leuncl., ἤδε L.

² Μακεδονίας Oddey, μακεδονία L.

³ ἢ Reim., καὶ ἡ L.

⁴ περιεβάλετο Xiph., περιεβάλλετο L.

BOOK XLI

the high seas (for a violent storm came up which prevented the attack), both he and Libo suffered injuries from the storm itself. B.C. 48

When the soldiers had got safely across, Pompey, as I have said, retired to Dyrrachium, and Caesar followed him, encouraged by the fact that, with the reinforcements that had arrived, he was superior to his adversary in the number of troops then at his disposal. Dyrrachium is situated in the land formerly regarded as belonging to the tribe of Illyrians called Parthini, but now and even at that time regarded as a part of Macedonia; and it is very favourably placed, whether it be the Epidamnus of the Corcyraeans or another city. Those who record this fact refer both its founding and its name to a hero Dyrrachius; but the other authorities have declared that the place was renamed by the Romans with reference to the difficulties of the rocky shore,¹ because the term Epidamnus has in the Latin tongue the meaning of "loss,"² and so seemed to be of ill-omen for their voyages thither.

Pompey after taking refuge in this town of Dyrrachium built a camp outside the city and surrounded it with deep moats and a stout palisade. Caesar encamped over against him and made assaults, in the hope of quickly capturing the palisades by the superior number of his troops; and when he was repulsed, he attempted to wall it in. While he was engaged in

¹ I.e., the name was a compound of *δυσ-* ("unlucky") and *ραχία* ("breakers" or "rocky shore"). From Dyrrachium comes its modern name Durazzo.

² Epidamnus is of course a Greek name, but the Romans were not slow to connect the second element of the word with their own *damnum*. Compare the jest in Plautus, *Menaechmi*, 263 f.

- ὁ Πομπήιος τὰ μὲν διεσταύρου τὰ δὲ ὑπετείχιζε καὶ διετάφρευε, πύργους τε ἐπὶ τῶν μετεώρων καὶ φυλακὰς ἐπικαθίστη, ὥς τὴν τε περίοδον τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἀπέραντον καὶ τὴν ἔφοδον καὶ κρατοῦσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἄπορον ποιῆσαι. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ μάχαι αὐτῶν, βραχεῖαι δ' οὖν¹ ἐγίγνοντο· καὶ ἐν ταύταις τοτὲ μὲν οὗτοι τοτὲ δὲ ἐκείνοι καὶ ἐνίκων καὶ ἐνικῶντο, ὥστε καὶ θνήσκειν τινὰς ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως. αὐτοῦ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Δυρραχίου ὁ Καῖσαρ μεταξὺ τῶν τε ἐλῶν καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης νυκτός, ὥς καὶ προδοθησομένου ὑπὸ² τῶν³ ἀμυνομένων, πειράσας εἴσω μὲν τῶν στενῶν παρήλθε, προσπεσόντων δὲ οἱ ἐνταῦθα πολλῶν μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον πολλῶν δὲ καὶ κατόπιν, οἱ πλοίοις παρακομισθέντες ἐξαίφνης αὐτῷ ἐπέθεντο, καὶ συχνοὺς ἀπέβαλε καὶ ὀλίγου καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφθάρη. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπιθαρσήσας ἐπεβούλευσε νυκτὸς τῷ περιτειχίσματι, καὶ ἐκείνου τέ τι ἀπροσδόκητος προσπεσὼν εἶλε, καὶ φόνον τῶν αὐλιζομένων πρὸς αὐτῷ πολὺν εἰργάσατο.
- 51 Ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ, ὥς ταῦτά τε συνεβεβήκει καὶ ὁ σίτος αὐτὸν ἐπελελοίπει (ἥ τε γὰρ θάλασσα καὶ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἡ πλησία ἄλλοτρία αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ τινες διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπηνυτομολήκεσαν), δείσας μὴ ἦτοι⁴ προσεδρεύων καταπολεμηθῇ ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγκαταλειφθῇ, πάντα μὲν τὰ ὠκοδομημένα κατέστρεψε, πάντα δὲ τὰ παραβεβλημένα προσδιέφθειρε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξαίφνης ἄρας ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ὤρμησεν. ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ⁵ τὸ

¹ οὖν Leuncl., οὖν αὐτῶν L.² ὑπὸ supplied by Rk.³ τῶν Rk., τῶν τε L.⁴ ἦτοι Bk., τοι L.⁵ φ supplied by Leuncl.

BOOK XLI

this task, Pompey was constructing palisades, cross-
walls and ditches, and placing towers on the eleva-
tions and guards in them, so as to make the circuit of
the encompassing wall complete and to make an attack
impracticable for the foe, even if they conquered.
There were meanwhile many, though slight, en-
counters between them, in which now one party, now
the other, was victorious or beaten, so that a few were
killed on both sides alike. Upon Dyrrachium itself
Caesar made an attempt by night, between the
marshes and the sea, in the expectation that it
would be betrayed by its defenders. He got inside
the narrows, but at that point was attacked both in
front and in the rear by large forces which had been
conveyed along the shore in boats and suddenly fell
upon him; thus he lost many men and very nearly
perished himself. After this occurrence Pompey
took courage and planned a night assault upon the
enclosing wall; and attacking it unexpectedly, he
captured a portion of it by storm and caused great
slaughter among the men encamped near it.

Caesar, in view of this occurrence and because
his grain had failed, inasmuch as the whole sea
and land in the vicinity were hostile, and because
for this reason some had actually deserted, feared
that he might either be defeated while watching his
adversary or be abandoned by his other followers.
Therefore he levelled all the works that had been
constructed, destroyed also all the parallel walls,
and thereupon set out suddenly and hastened into
Thessaly. During this same time, it seems, while

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- Δυρράχιον ἐπολιορκεῖτο, Λούκιός τε Κάσσιος Λογγίνος καὶ Γναῖος Δομίτιος Καλουῖνος ἕς τε τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἕς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντες, Λογγίνος μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Σκιπίωνος καὶ ὑπὸ Σαδάλου Θρακὸς ἰσχυρῶς
- 3 ἐσφάλῃ, Καλουῖνος δὲ τῆς μὲν Μακεδονίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαύστου ἀπεώσθη, Λοκρῶν δὲ δὴ καὶ Αἰτωλῶν προσχωρησάντων οἱ ἕς τε τὴν Θεσσαλίαν μετ' αὐτῶν ἐσέβαλε, καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα μάχαις, τῇ μὲν λοχισθεὶς τῇ δ' ἀντενεδρεύσας, ἐνίκησε,¹ καὶ ἀπ'
- 4 αὐτοῦ καὶ πόλεις τινὰς προσεποιήσατο. ἐνταῦθ' οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς καὶ ῥᾶον σὺν ἐκείνοις τῆς τε τροφῆς εὐπορήσων καὶ τὸν πόλεμον διοίσων, ἠπείχθη. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν ἄτε κακῶς πεπραγόντα ἐδέχετο, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων καὶ ἄκων ἀπείχετο, Γόμφοις δὲ δὴ πολίχνην τινὶ Θεσσαλικῇ προσπεσὼν καὶ κρατήσας πολλοὺς τε ἔκτεινε καὶ
- 5 πάντα² διήρπασεν, ὅπως καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκ τούτου καταφοβήσῃ. αὐτίκα γοῦν Μητρόπολιν, ἑτερόν τι πόλισμα, οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας αὐτῷ ἦλθεν, ἀλλ' ἀμαχεὶ ὠμολόγησε· καὶ σφας κακὸν οὐδὲν δράσας ῥᾶον καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἀφ' ἐκατέρου προσεποιήσατο.
- 52 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἰσχυρὸς αὖθις ἐγίγνετο, Πομπήιος δὲ οὐκ ἐπεδίωξε μὲν αὐτόν (νυκτός τε γὰρ ἐξαπιναιῶς ἀπανεστή, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Γενουσὸν σπουδῇ διέβη), οὕτω μέντοι τὴν γνώμην εἶχεν ὡς καὶ διαπεπολεμηκῶς. κακὸν τούτου τὸ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα ἔλαβεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐμεγαληγόρει τι ἢ καὶ δύφνην τινὰ ταῖς ῥάβδοις περιήψεν, δυσχεραίνων ἐπὶ πολίταις τοιοῦτό τι
- ¹ ἐνίκησε Leuncl., ἐνέδρευσε L. ² πάντα Xyl., πάντας L.

BOOK XLI

Dyrrachium was being besieged, Lucius Cassius B C. 48
Longinus and Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus had been sent by him into Macedonia and Thessaly. Longinus had been disastrously defeated in Thessaly by Scipio and by Sadalus, a Thracian; and Calvinus had been repulsed from Macedonia by Faustus, but on receiving accessions from the Locrians and Aetolians had invaded Thessaly with these troops, and after being ambushed had afterwards set ambuscades himself and conquered Scipio in battle, thereby winning over a few cities. Thither, accordingly, Caesar hastened, thinking that by uniting with these officers he could more easily secure an abundance of provisions and thus continue the war. When no one would receive him, because of his reverses, he reluctantly held aloof from the larger settlements, but assaulted Gomphi, a little town in Thessaly; and upon taking it he put many to death and plundered everything, in order that by this act he might inspire the rest with terror. Metropolis, another town, for example, did not even contend with him but forthwith capitulated without a struggle; and as he did no harm to its citizens he more easily won over some other places by his course in these two instances.

So he was once more becoming powerful. Pompey did not pursue him, for he had withdrawn suddenly by night and had hastily crossed the Genusus river; however, he was of the opinion that he had brought the war to an end. Consequently he assumed the title of *imperator*, though he uttered no boastful words about it and did not even wind laurel about his fasces, disliking to show such exul-

2 ποιῆσαι. ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης διανοίας οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἔπλευσεν οὐτ' ἄλλους τινὰς ἔπεμψε, καίτοι ῥαδίως ἂν πᾶσαν αὐτὴν κατασχών· τῷ τε γὰρ ναυτικῷ πολὺ ἐκράτει ἅτε πεντακοσίας ναῦς ταχείας ἔχων, ὥστε πανταχόσε ἅμα κατάραι, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ οὐτ' ἄλλως αὐτῷ ἤχθετο, οὔτε, εἰ καὶ τὰ¹ μάλιστα ἡλλο-
 3 τρίωτο, ἀξιόμαχά γε ἀντιπολεμῆσαι ἦν. πόρρω τε² γὰρ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῆς δόξαι πολεμεῖν ἀφεστη-
 κέναι ἐβούλετο, καὶ φόβον οὐδένα τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε οὔσι παρασχεῖν ἠξίου. τῆς μὲν οὖν Ἰταλίας διὰ ταύτ' οὐκ ἐπείρασεν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐπέστειλε τῷ κοινῷ περὶ τῶν πραχθέντων οὐδέν· ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τὸν Καίσαρα μετὰ τοῦθ' ὀρμήσας ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ἀφίκετο.

- 53 Ἀντικαθημένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀλλήλοις ἡ μὲν ὄψις τῶν στρατοπέδων πολέμου τινὰ εἰκόνα ἔφερεν, ἡ δὲ δὴ χρεῖα τῶν ὀπλων ὡς καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἡσύχαζε. τό τε γὰρ μέγεθος τοῦ κινδύνου διασκοποῦντες, καὶ τὸ ἄδηλον τό τε ἀστάθμητον τῶν πραγμάτων προορώμενοι, καὶ τινὰ καὶ αἰδῶ τοῦ τε ὁμοφύλου καὶ τῆς συγγενείας ἔτι ποιού-
 2 μενοι διέμελλον, καὶ τούτῳ καὶ λόγους περὶ φιλίας σφίσιν ἀντέπεμπον, καὶ τισι καὶ συναλ-
 λαγήσεσθαι διὰ κενῆς ἔδοξαν. αἷτιον δὲ ὅτι τοῦ τε παντὸς κράτους ἀμφοτέροι ἐφίεμενοι, καὶ πολλῇ μὲν φιλοτιμία ἐμφύτῳ πολλῇ δὲ καὶ
 3 φιλονεικίᾳ ἐπικτήτῳ χρώμενοι (πρὸς τε γὰρ τῶν ἴσων καὶ πρὸς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἥκιστα τινες ἐλαττούμενοι φέρουσιν) οὔτε τι συγχωρήσαι

¹ τὰ added by R. Steph. (and so V).

² πόρρω τε Bk., πορρωτέρω L.

BOOK XLI

tation over the downfall of citizens. From this same B.C. 48
motive he neither sailed to Italy himself nor sent any others there, though he might easily have taken possession of it all. For with his fleet he was far superior, as he had five hundred swift ships and could land at all points at the same time ; moreover, the sentiment of that country was not opposed to him in any case, and, even if it had been ever so hostile, the people were no match for him in war. But he wished to be far from giving the impression that Italy was the stake for which he was fighting, and did not think he ought to cause any fear to the people who were then in Rome. Hence he made no attempt on Italy, nor even sent to the government any despatch about his successes ; but after this he set out against Caesar and came into Thessaly

As they lay opposite each other the appearance of the camps bore, indeed, some semblance of war, but their arms were idle as in time of peace. As they considered the greatness of the danger and foresaw the obscurity and uncertainty of the issue, and still felt some regard for their common ancestry and their kinship, they continued to delay. Meanwhile they exchanged propositions looking toward friendship and appeared to some likely even to effect an empty reconciliation. The reason was that they were both reaching out after the supreme power and were influenced gréatly by native ambition and greatly also by acquired rivalry,—since men can least endure to be outdone by their equals and intimates ; hence they were not willing to make any concessions

- ἀλλήλοις ἤθελον, ὥσπερ ἀμφότεροι κρατῆσαι
 δυνάμενοι, οὔτε πιστεῦσαι, καὶ συμβαθῇ¹ τι,
 ἐδύνατο μὴ οὐ τοῦ πλείονός τε αἰεί σφας ὀριγνή-
 σεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτῖς στασιάσειν.
- 54 γνῶμη μὲν γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων διέφερον ὅσον
 Πομπήιος μὲν οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων δεύτερος, Καῖσαρ
 δὲ καὶ πρῶτος πάντων εἶναι ἐπεθύμει, καὶ ὁ μὲν
 παρ' ἐκόντων τε τιμᾶσθαι καὶ ἐθελόντων προστα-
 τεῖν φιλεῖσθαί τε ἐσπούδαζε, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔμελεν
 εἰ καὶ ἀκόντων ἄρχοι καὶ μισοῦσιν ἐπιτάσσοι,
- 2 τὰς τε τιμὰς αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ διδοίη. τὰ μέντοι ἔργα,
 δι' ὧν ἤλπιζον πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλοντο καταπράξειν,
 ἀμφότεροι ὁμοίως καὶ ἀνάγκῃ ἐποιοῦν· ἀδύνατον
 γὰρ ἦν αὐτῶν κατατυχεῖν τινι μὴ οὐ τοῖς τε
 οἰκείοις πολεμοῦντι καὶ τοὺς ὀθνεῖους ἐπὶ τοὺς
 ὁμοφύλους ἄγοντι, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν χρήματα
 ἀδίκως συλῶντι, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων
- 3 ἀνόμως κτείνοντι.² ὥστε εἰ καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις
 διήλλαττον, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε πράξεσι, δι' ὧν ἀπο-
 πληρώσειν αὐτὰς ἤλπιζον, ὁμοιοῦντο. καὶ διὰ
 τοῦτ' οὔθ'³ ὑφίεντό τινος ἀλλήλοις, καίπερ
 πολλὰς δικαίωσεis προτεινόμενοι, καὶ ἐς χεῖρας
 τελευτῶντες ἦλθον.
- 55 Ἐγένετο δὲ ὁ ἀγὼν μέγας καὶ οἶος οὐχ ἕτερος.
 αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἄριστοι πρὸς πάντα τὰ πολέμια καὶ
 εὐδοκιμώτατοι διαφανῶς οὐχ ὅτι τῶν Ῥωμαίων
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τότε⁴ ἀνθρώπων ἥξι-
 οῦντο εἶναι· οἷα⁵ γὰρ ἐκ παίδων τε ἐν αὐτοῖς
 ἡσκημένοι καὶ διὰ παντὸς αὐτοῖς ὠμιληκότες, ἔργα

¹ συμβαθῇ St., συμβανθῇ L.² τοῦτ' οὔθ' Rk., τοῦθ' L.³ οἷα Bk., οἶ L.⁴ κτείνοντι Bk., κτείναντι L.⁵ τότε H. Steph., τε L.

BOOK XLI

to each other, since each felt that he might win, nor could they feel confident, if they did reach some agreement, that they would not be always striving to gain the upper hand and would not fall to quarrelling again over the supreme issue. In temper they differed from each other to this extent, that Pompey desired to be second to no man and Caesar to be first of all, and the former was anxious to be honoured by a willing people and to preside over and be loved by men who fully consent, whereas the latter cared not at all if he ruled over even an unwilling people, issued orders to men who hated him, and bestowed the honours with his own hand upon himself. The deeds, however, through which they hoped to accomplish all that they wished, were perforce common to both alike. For it was impossible for any one successfully to gain these ends without fighting against his countrymen, leading foreigners against kindred, obtaining vast sums by unjust pillage, and killing unlawfully many of his dearest associates. Hence, even though they differed in their desires, yet in their acts, by which they hoped to realise those desires, they were alike. Consequently they would not yield to each other on any point, in spite of the many claims they put forward, and finally came to blows.

The struggle proved a mighty one and unparalleled by any other. In the first place, the leaders themselves had the name of being the most skilled in all matters of warfare and clearly the most distinguished not only of the Romans but also of all other men then living. They had been trained in arms from boyhood, had constantly been

B. C. 48

- τε ἀξιόλογα ἀποδεδειγμένοι, καὶ πολλῇ μὲν ἀρετῇ
 πολλῇ δὲ καὶ τύχῃ κεχρημένοι, καὶ ἀξιοστρατη-
 2 γητότατοι¹ καὶ ἀξιονικότατοι ἦσαν· καὶ δυνάμεις
 Καίσαρ μὲν τοῦ τε πολιτικοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ
 καθαρώτατον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας τῆς τε
 Ἰβηρίας καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας πάσης τῶν τε νήσων
 ὧν ἐκράτει τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους εἶχε, Πομπήιος δὲ
 συχνοὺς μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς τε ἱππάδος
 κὰκ τῶν καταλόγων ἐπῆκτο, παμπληθεῖς δὲ παρά
 3 τε τῶν λοιπῶν ὑπηκόων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐνσπόνδων
 καὶ δῆμων καὶ βασιλέων ἠθροίκει. ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ
 τοῦ τε Φαρνάκου καὶ τοῦ Ὀρώδου (καὶ γὰρ
 τοῦτον, καίτοι πολέμιον ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς Κράσσους
 ἀπέκτεινεν ὄντα, προσεταιρίσασθαι ἐπεχείρησε)
 πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι, οἱ καὶ ἐφ' ὅσονοῦν οἰκειωθέντες
 ποτὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ χρήματά οἱ ἔδωκαν, καὶ βοηθείας
 4 οἱ μὲν ἐπεμψαν οἱ δὲ ἤγαγον. ὁ δὲ δὴ Πάρθος
 ὑπέσχετο μὲν αὐτῷ, ἂν τὴν Συρίαν λάβῃ,
 συμμαχήσειν, μὴ τυχὼν δὲ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐπήμυνε.
 προύχοντος δ' οὖν πολὺ τοῦ Πομπηίου τῷ πλήθει,
 ἐξισοῦντό σφισιν οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῇ ῥώμῃ· καὶ
 οὕτως ἀπ' ἀντιπάλου πλεονεξίας καὶ ἰσόρροποι
 ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἰσοκίνδυνοι ἐγίνοντο.
- 56 Ἐκ τε οὖν τούτων καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς αἰτίας τῆς
 τε ὑποθέσεως τοῦ πολέμου ἀξιολογώτατος ἀγὼν
 συνηνέχθη. ἥ τε γὰρ πόλις ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ
 ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτῆς ἅπασα, καὶ πολλὴ καὶ μεγάλη
 ἤδη οὖσα, ἀθλὸν σφισι προύκειτο· εὖδηλον γάρ
 2 πού τις ἦν ὅτι τῷ τότε κρατήσαντι δουλωθή-
 σεται. τοῦτό τε οὖν ἐκλογιζόμενοι, καὶ προσέτι
 καὶ τῶν προτέρων ἔργων, Πομπήιος μὲν τῆς τε

¹ ἀξιοστρατηγητότατοι Bk., ἀξιοστρατηγηκότατοι L.

BOOK XLI

occupied with them, had performed deeds worthy of note, had been conspicuous for great valour and also for great good fortune, and were therefore most worthy of commanding and most worthy of victory. As to their forces, Caesar had the largest and the most genuinely Roman portion of the state legions and the most warlike men from the rest of Italy, from Spain, and the whole of Gaul and the islands that he had conquered; Pompey had brought along many from the senatorial and the equestrian order and from the regularly enrolled troops, and had gathered vast numbers from the subject and allied peoples and kings. With the exception of Pharnaces and Orodes (for he tried to win over even the latter, although an enemy since the time he had killed the Crassi), all the rest who had ever been befriended at all by Pompey gave him money and either sent or brought auxiliaries. Indeed, the Parthian had promised to be his ally if he should receive Syria; but as he did not get it, he lent him no help. While Pompey, then, greatly excelled in numbers, Caesar's followers were their equals in strength; and so, the advantages being even, they were an equal match for each other and the risks they incurred were equal.

As a result of these circumstances and of the very cause and purpose of the war a most notable struggle took place. For the city of Rome and its entire empire, even then great and mighty, lay before them as the prize, since it was clear to all that it would be the slave of him who then conquered. When they reflected on this fact and furthermore thought of their former deeds,—Pompey of Africa, Sertorius,

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Ἀφρικῆς καὶ τοῦ Σερτωρίου τοῦ τε Μιθριδάτου
 καὶ τοῦ Τιγράνου καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, Καῖσαρ
 δὲ τῆς τε Γαλατίας καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας τοῦ τε
 3 Ῥήνου καὶ τῆς Βρεττανίας, ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι,
 καὶ κινδυνεύειν τε καὶ περὶ ἐκείνοις ἡγούμενοι καὶ
 προσκτῆσασθαι τὴν ἑλλήλων δόξαν σπουδῇ
 ποιούμενοι, ὥρων. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα τῶν ἡττημέ-
 νων τοῖς κρατοῦσι προσγίγνεται καὶ ἡ εὐκλεία ὅτι
 μάλιστα· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν μείζω καὶ δυνατώτερόν
 τις ἀνταγωνιστὴν καθέλῃ, τόσῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ
 57 μείζον αἵρεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς στρατι-
 ώταις πολλὰ μὲν παραπλήσια δ' οὖν ἀλλήλοις
 παρήνεσαν, εἰπόντες πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ
 πρὸς τε τὸ αὐτίκα τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ πρὸς τὸ
 ἔπειτα πρέπει λέγεσθαι. ἔκ τε γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς
 πολιτείας ὀρμώμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγους
 2 ποιούμενοι, καὶ ἀλλήλους τε τυράννους καὶ αὐ-
 τοὺς ἐλευθερωτὰς αὐτῶν ὀνομάζοντες, οὐδέν σφισι
 διάφορον εἶπειν ἔσχον, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἀπο-
 θανεῖν τοῖς δὲ σωθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους
 τοῖς δὲ ἐν δεσπότου μοίρα πάντα τε ἔχειν ἢ
 πάντων στερηθῆναι καὶ παθεῖν ἢ ποιῆσαι δεινό-
 3 τατα ὑπάρξει. τοιαύτας οὖν δὴ τινὰς παραινέσεις
 τοῖς πολίταις ποιησάμενοι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ
 τῶν ὑπηκόων τῶν τε συμμάχων πρὸς τε τὰς
 ἐλπίδας τῶν κρεισσόνων καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φόβους
 τῶν χειρόνων προαγαγόντες, συνέβαλον ἀλλήλοις
 τοὺς ὁμοφύλους, τοὺς συσκήνους, τοὺς συσσίτους,
 4 τοὺς ὁμοσπόνδους. καὶ τί ἂν τις τὰ τῶν ἄλλων
 ὀδύραιτο, ὅποτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντα τε ταῦτα
 ἀλλήλοις ὄντες, καὶ προσέτι πολλῶν μὲν λόγων
 ἀπορρήτων πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἔργων ὁμοίων κεκοινω-

BOOK XLI

Mithridates, Tigranes, and the sea, and Caesar of B.C. 48
Gaul, Spain, the Rhine, and Britain,—they were wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement, believing that those conquests, too, were at stake, and each being eager to acquire the other's glory. For the renown of the vanquished, far more than his other possessions, becomes the property of the victor, since, the greater and more powerful the antagonist that a man overthrows, the greater is the height to which he himself is raised. Therefore they delivered to their soldiers also many exhortations, but very much alike on both sides, saying all that is fitting to be said on such an occasion with reference both to the immediate results of the struggle and to the subsequent results. As they both came from the same state and were talking about the same matters and calling each other tyrants and themselves liberators from tyranny of the men they addressed, they had nothing different to say on either side, but stated that it would be the lot of the one side to die, of the other to be saved, of the one side to be captives, of the other to enjoy the master's lot, to possess everything or to be deprived of everything, to suffer or to inflict a most terrible fate. After addressing some such exhortations to the citizens and furthermore trying to inspire the subject and allied contingents with hopes of a better lot and fears of a worse, they hurled at each other kinsmen, sharers of the same tent, of the same table, of the same libations. Yet why should any one, then, lament the fate of the others involved, when those very leaders, who were all these things to each other, and had, moreover, shared many secret plans and many exploits of like character,

νηκότες, κηδός τέ ποτε συναψάμενοι καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ παιδίον, ὃ μὲν ὡς πατήρ ὃ δὲ ὡς πάππος, ἀγαπήσαντες, ὁμῶς ἐμάχοντο; ὅσα γὰρ ἡ φύσις τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν μίξασα συνέδησε, τότε ταῦτα τῇ ἀπλήστῳ τῆς δυναστείας ἐπιθυμίᾳ διέλυνον καὶ διέσπων καὶ διερρήγνυσαν. καὶ δι' ἐκείνους¹ καὶ ἡ Ῥώμη περί τε ἑαυτῇ καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἅμα κινδυνεύειν ἠναγκάζετο, ὥστε καὶ νικήσασα ἡττηθῆναι.

- 58 Τοιοῦτῳ μὲν ἀγῶνι συνηνέχθησαν· οὐ μέντοι καὶ εὐθὺς συνέμιζαν, ἀλλ' οἷα ἕκ τε τῆς αὐτῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἕκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστίας ὁρμώμενοι, καὶ τά τε ὅπλα παραπλήσια καὶ τὰς τάξεις ὁμοίας ἔχοντες, ὥκνουν μὲν ἄρξαι τῆς μάχης, ὥκνουν δὲ² καὶ φονεῦσαί τινας ἐκάτεροι. σιγῇ τε οὖν ἀμφοτέρων καὶ κατήφεια πολλή ἦν, καὶ οὔτε τις αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ πρόσω προῆι² οὔθ' ὅλως ἐκινεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐγκύψαντες ἡτρέμιζον ὥσπερ ἄψυχοι. φοβηθέντες οὖν ὃ τε Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ἡσυχάσαντες ἀμβλύτεροί πως γένωνται ἢ καὶ συναλλαγῶσι, προσέταξαν σπουδῇ τοῖς τε σαλπικταῖς σημήναι³ καὶ ἐκείνοις συμβοῆσαι τὸ πολεμικόν.³ καὶ ἐπράχθη μὲν ἐκάτερον, τοσούτου δὲ ἐδέησαν ἐπιρρωσθῆναι ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἕκ τε τῆς τῶν σαλπικτῶν ἡχῆς ὁμοφωνούσης καὶ ἕκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν βοῆς ὁμογλωσσούσης τό τε ὁμόφυλόν σφων ἐξέφεηναν καὶ τὸ ὁμογενὲς ἐξήλεγξαν, καὶ τοῦτου καὶ ἐς δάκρυα καὶ θρῆνον ἔπεσον. ὧς δ' οὖν ποτε τῶν συμμαχικῶν προκαταρξάντων καὶ

¹ ἐκείνους Bk., ἐκείνου L. ² προῆι R. Steph., προσῆι L.
³ πολεμικόν St., πολέμιον L

BOOK XLI

who had oncē been joined by domestic ties and had loved the same child, one as a father, the other as grandfather, nevertheless fought? All the ties with which nature, by mingling their blood, had bound them together, they now, led by their insatiable lust of power, hastened to break, tear, and rend asunder. Because of them Rome was being compelled to fight both in her own defence and against herself, so that even if victorious she would be vanquished. B C 48

Such was the struggle in which they joined; yet they did not immediately come to close quarters. Sprung from the same country and from the same hearth, with almost identical weapons and similar formation, each side shrank from beginning the battle, and shrank from slaying any one. So there was great silence and dejection on both sides; no one went forward or moved at all, but with heads bowed they stood motionless, as if devoid of life. Caesar and Pompey, therefore, fearing that if they remained quiet any longer their animosity might be lessened or they might even become reconciled, hurriedly commanded the trumpeters to give the signal and the men to raise the war cry in unison. Both orders were obeyed, but the combatants were so far from being imbued with courage, that at the sound of the trumpeters' call, uttering the same notes, and at their own shout, raised in the same language, they showed their sense of relationship and betrayed their kinship more than ever, and so fell to weeping and lamenting. But after a long time, when the allied troops began the battle, the rest also joined in, fairly

- ἐκείνοι συνέμιξαν, ἑκφρονες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γενόμενοι. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις, οἷς πόρρωθεν ἢ
 59 ἀλκὴ ἦν, ἤττον τὸ δεινὸν συνέβαινε, οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰδότες οὓς ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξευον ἡκόντιζον
 2 ἐσφενδόνων· οἱ δὲ δὴ ὀπλῖται οἷ τε ἱππῆς χαλεπώτατα ἀπήλλασσον, ἅτε γὰρ¹ ἐγγύς ἀλλήλων ὄντες καὶ τι καὶ λαλεῖν σφισι δυνάμενοι ἐγνώριζον τε ἅμα τοὺς ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον, ἀνεκάλουν καὶ ἐφόνεον, τῶν πα-
 3 τρίδων ἐμέμνηντο καὶ ἐσκύλευον. ταῦτα μὲν οἷ τε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας συστρατεύομενοί σφισιν, ὅπου ποτὲ προστύχοιεν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἔπραττον καὶ ἔπασχον· καὶ πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ οἷκαδε δι' αὐτῶν τῶν σφαγέων
 4 ἐνετέλλοντο. τὸ δὲ ὑπήκοον καὶ προθύμως καὶ ἀφειδῶς ἐμάχετο, πολλὴν σπουδὴν, ὥσπερ ποτὲ ὑπὲρ² τῆς σφετέρας ἐλευθερίας, οὕτω τότε κατὰ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων δουλείας ποιούμενοι, ἐπιθυμία, ἅτε ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτῶν ἐλαττούμενοι, ὁμοδούλους σφᾶς ἔχειν.
- 60 Μεγίστη τε οὖν ἡ μάχη καὶ πολυτροπωτάτη διὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τό τε πολυειδὲς τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐγένετο. πάμπολλοι μὲν γὰρ ὀπλῖται πάμπολλοι δὲ καὶ ἱππῆς, τοξόται τε ἕτεροι καὶ σφενδονῆται ἄλλοι ὄντες, τό τε πεδίου πᾶν κατέλαβον, καὶ σκεδασθέντες πολλαχῇ μὲν ἀλλήλοις οἷα ὁμόσκειν, πολλαχῇ δὲ καὶ ἐτέροις
 2 ἀναμῖξ ἐμάχοντο. προεῖχον δὲ οἱ Πομπηῖοι τῇ τε ἱππείᾳ καὶ τῇ τοξείᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πόρρωθεν τε ἐγκυκλούμενοί τινες προσβολαῖς αἰφνιδίως

¹ γὰρ Bs., καὶ L.² ὑπὲρ R. Steph., ὑπὸ L.

BOOK XLI

beside themselves at what they were doing. Those who fought at long range were less sensible of the horror, as they shot their arrows, hurled their javelins, and discharged their slings without knowing whom they hit; but the heavy-armed troops and the cavalry had a very hard time of it, as they were close to each other and could even talk a little back and forth; at one and the same moment they would recognize those who confronted them and would wound them, would call them by name and would slaughter them, would recall the towns they had come from and would despoil them. Such were the deeds both done and suffered by the Romans and by the others from Italy who were with them on the campaign, wherever they met each other. Many sent messages home through their very slayers. But the subject force fought both zealously and relentlessly, showing great zeal, as once to win their own freedom, so now to secure the slavery of the Romans; they wanted, since they were reduced to inferiority to them in all things, to have them as fellow-slaves. B.C 48

Thus it was a very great battle and full of diverse incidents, partly for the reasons mentioned and partly on account of the numbers and the variety of the armaments. There were vast bodies of heavy-armed soldiers, vast bodies of cavalry, in another group archers and still others that were slingers, so that they occupied the whole plain, and scattered over it, they fought often with each other, since they belonged to the same arms, but often also with men of the other arms indiscriminately. The Pompeians surpassed in cavalry and archers; hence they would surround troops at a distance, employ sudden assaults,

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐχρῶντο, καὶ συνταράξαντες αὐτοὺς ἐξανεχώρουν,
 εἴτ' αὖθις καὶ μάλ' αὖθις ἐπετίθεντό σφισι, τοτὲ
 3 μὲν ἐνταῦθα τοτὲ δὲ ἐκείσε μεθιστάμενοι. οἱ οὖν
 Καισάρειοι ταῦτά τε ἐφυλάσσοντο, καὶ τὰς
 τάξεις σφῶν ἐξελίσσοντες ἀντιπρόσωποί τε αἰεὶ
 τοῖς προσβάλλουσιν¹ ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς
 χωροῦντες τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ἵππων²
 ἀντελαμβάνοντο, προθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενοι· καὶ
 γὰρ πεζοὶ τοῖς ἵππευσιν αὐτῶν κοῦφοι ἐπ' αὐτὸ
 4 τοῦτο συνετετάχατο. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ καθ' ἑν,³
 ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἀλλὰ πολλαχῇ ἅμα σποράδην
 ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε τῶν μὲν πόρρωθεν μαχομένων τῶν
 δὲ συσταδὸν ἀγωνιζομένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν παιόντων
 τινὰς τῶν δὲ πατασσομένων, φευγόντων ἐτέρων,
 διωκόντων ἄλλων,⁴ πολλὰς μὲν πεζομαχίας
 5 πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἵππομαχίας ὁρᾶσθαι. καὶ τούτῳ
 καὶ παρὰ δόξαν⁵ συχνὰ συνέβαινε. καὶ γὰρ
 τρέψας τίς τινα ἐτρέπετο, καὶ ἄλλος ἐκκλίνας
 τινὰ ἀντεπετίθετο αὐτῷ· πλήξας τις ἕτερον
 αὐτὸς ἐτιτρώσκετο, καὶ πεπτωκὸς ἄλλος τὸν
 ἐστηκότα ἀπεκτίννυε. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ
 ἄτρωτοι ἔθνησκον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἡμιθνήτες
 6 ἐφόνευον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔχαιρον καὶ ἐπαιώνιζον, οἱ
 δὲ ἐλυποῦντο καὶ ὠλοφύροντο, ὥστε βοῆς καὶ
 στεναγμῶν πάντα πληρωθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν
 πλείοσι καὶ ἐκ τούτου ταραχὴν ἐγγενέσθαι (τὰ
 γὰρ λεγόμενα ἄσημά σφισι διὰ τε τὸ ἀλλοεθνὲς
 καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀλλόθροον ὄντα δεινῶς αὐτοὺς

¹ προσβάλλουσιν Xiph., προσβαλοῦσιν L.

² ἵππων Xiph., ἱππέων L. ³ καθ' ἑν Rk., καθ' ἑνα L.

⁴ ἄλλων Xiph., ἐτέρων L.

⁵ παρὰ δόξαν Xiph., παραδόξαντι L.

BOOK XLI

and retire after throwing their opponents into confusion; then they would attack them again and again, turning now to this side and now to that. The Caesarians, therefore, were on their guard against this, and by wheeling round always managed to face their assailants, and when they came to close quarters with them, would seize hold of both men and horses in the eagerness of the struggle; for light-armed infantry had been drawn up with their cavalry for this very purpose. And all this took place, as I said, not in one spot, but in many places at once, scattered all about, so that with some contending at a distance and others fighting at close quarters, this body smiting its opponents and that group being struck, one detachment fleeing and a second pursuing, many infantry battles and many cavalry battles as well were to be seen. Meanwhile many incredible things were taking place. One man after routing another would himself be turned to flight, and another who had avoided an opponent would in turn attack him. One soldier who had struck another would be wounded himself, and a second, who had fallen, would kill the enemy who stood over him. Many died without being wounded, and many when half dead kept on slaying. Some were glad and sang paeans, while the others were distressed and uttered lamentations, so that all places were filled with shouts and groans. The majority were thrown into confusion by this fact, for what was said was unintelligible to them, because of the confusion of nations and languages, and alarmed them greatly, and those who could understand one

B. C. 48

ἐξέπλησσε), τοῖς δὲ δὴ συνιῖσιν ἀλλήλων πολ-
λαπλάσιον τὸ κακὸν συμβῆναι· πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς
ιδίοις σφῶν παθήμασι καὶ τὰ τῶν πέλας καὶ
ἐώρων ἅμα καὶ ἤκουον.

- 61 Τέλος δέ, ἰσορρόπως αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μακρότατον
ἀγωνισαμένων, καὶ πολλῶν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὁμοίως
καὶ πεσόντων καὶ τρωθέντων, ὁ Πομπήιος ἄτε καὶ
Ἀσιανὸν καὶ ἀγύμναστον τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ
ἔχων ἡττήθη, ὥσπερ που καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου οἱ
2 ἐδεδήλωτο· κεραυνοὶ τε γὰρ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον
αὐτοῦ ἐσέπεσον, καὶ πῦρ ἀέριον ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ
Καίσαρος ταφρείας φανέν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνου κατέ-
σκηψε, τὰ τε σημεῖα αὐτοῦ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ
μέλισσαι περιέσχον, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἱερείων
αὐτοῖς ἤδη τοῖς βωμοῖς προσαγόμενα ἐξέδρα.
3 καὶ οὕτω γε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὁ
ἀγὼν ἐκεῖνος ἔτεινεν ὥστε πολλαχόθι ἐν¹ αὐτῇ τῇ
τῆς μάχης ἡμέρᾳ καὶ στρατοπέδων συνόδους
καὶ ὅπλων κτύπους συμβῆναι, ἔν τε Περγάμῳ
τυμπάνων τέ τινα καὶ κυμβάλων ψόφον ἐκ τοῦ
Διονυσίου ἀρθέντα διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως
4 χωρῆσαι, καὶ ἐν Τράλλεσι φοινικά τε ἐν τῷ τῆς
Νίκης ναφῷ ἀναφῦναι καὶ τὴν θεὸν αὐτὴν πρὸς
εἰκόνα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν πλαγίῳ που κειμένην
μεταστραφῆναι, τοῖς τε Σύροις δύο τινὰς νεανί-
σκους τὸ τέλος τῆς μάχης ἀγγείλαντας ἀφανεῖς
γενέσθαι, καὶ ἐν Παταουίῳ τῆς νῦν Ἰταλίας τότε
δὲ ἔτι Γαλατίας ὄρνιθός τινος οὐχ ὅτι διαγγεῖλαι
5 αὐτὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ δεῖξαι τρόπον τινά· Γάιος γάρ
τις Κορνήλιος πάντα τὰ γενόμενα ἀκριβῶς τε ἐξ
αὐτῶν ἔτεκμήρατο καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐξηγήσατο.

¹ πολλαχόθι ἐν Rk., πολλαχόθεν L

BOOK XLII

another suffered a calamity many times worse ; for in addition to their own misfortunes they could hear and at the same time see those of their neighbours. B.C. 48

At last, after they had carried on an evenly-balanced struggle for a very long time and many on both sides alike had fallen or been wounded, Pompey, since the larger part of his army was Asiatic and untrained, was defeated, even as had been made clear to him before the action. For thunderbolts had fallen upon his camp, a fire had appeared in the air over Caesar's camp and had then fallen upon his own, bees had swarmed about his military standards, and many of the victims after being led up close to the very altar had run away. And so far did the effects of that contest extend to the rest of mankind that on the very day of the battle collisions of armies and the clash of arms occurred in many places. In Pergamum a noise of drums and cymbals rose from the temple of Dionysus and spread throughout the city ; in Tralles a palm tree grew up in the temple of Victory and the goddess herself turned about toward an image of Caesar that stood beside her ; in Syria two young men announced the result of the battle and vanished ; and in Patavium, which now belongs to Italy but was then still a part of Gaul, some birds not only brought news of it but even acted it out to some extent, for one Gaius Cornelius drew from their actions accurate information of all that had taken place, and narrated it to

BOOK XLI

the bystanders. These several things happened B.C. 48 on that very same day and though they were, not unnaturally, distrusted at the time, yet when news of the actual facts was brought, they were marvelled at.

Of Pompey's followers who were not destroyed on the spot some fled whithersoever they could, and others [were captured¹] later on. Those of them who were soldiers of the line Caesar enrolled in his own legions, exhibiting no resentment. Of the senators and knights, however, he put to death all whom he had previously captured and spared, except some whom his friends begged off; for he allowed each friend on this occasion to save one man. The rest who had then for the first time fought against him he released, remarking: "Those have not wronged me who supported the cause of Pompey, their friend, without having received any benefit from me." This same attitude he adopted toward the princes and the peoples who had assisted Pompey. He pardoned them all, bearing in mind that he himself was acquainted with none or almost none of them, whereas from his rival they had previously obtained many favours. Indeed, he praised these far more than he did those who, after receiving favours from Pompey, had deserted him in the midst of dangers; the former he could reasonably expect would be favourably disposed to him also, but as to the latter, no matter how anxious they seemed to be to please him in anything, he believed that, inasmuch as they had betrayed their friend in this

¹ This is the idea to be supplied if we follow Plutarch (*Caes.* 46, 2); but Caesar's own account (*B.C.* iii. 98 f.) would suggest rather "surrendered."

- φίλου γενομένους οὐδὲ ἑαυτοῦ ποτε φείσεσθαι¹
 63 ἐνόμιζε. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι Σαδάλου μὲν τοῦ
 Θρακὸς καὶ Δηιοτάρου τοῦ Γαλάτου, καίτοι καὶ
 ἐν τῇ μάχῃ γενομένων, Ταρκονδιμότου² τε ἐν
 μέρει μὲν τινι τῆς Κιλικίας δυναστεύοντος,
 2 πλείστον δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ ναυτικὰ βοηθήσαντος,
 ἐφείσατο. τί γὰρ δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰς συμ-
 μαχίας πέμψαντας καταλέγειν, οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς
 συγγνώμην ἐνεῖμε, χρήματα μόνον παρ' αὐτῶν³
 λαβών; ἄλλο γὰρ οὐδὲν οὔτε ἔδρασέ σφας οὔτ'
 ἀφείλετο,⁴ καίπερ πολλῶν πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, τὰ
 μὲν πάλαι τὰ δὲ καὶ τότε, παρὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου
 3 εἰληφότων. μέρος μὲν γάρ τι τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῆς
 τοῦ Δηιοτάρου γενομένης Ἀριοβαρζάνει τῷ τῆς
 Καππαδοκίας βασιλεῖ ἔδωκεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸν
 Δηιοτάρου ἐν τούτῳ τι ἔβλαψεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσ-
 ευηργέτησεν.⁵ οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνου τὴν χώραν ἀπετέ-
 μετο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαρνάκου πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀρμενίαν
 καταληφθεῖσαν καταλαβὼν τὸ μὲν τι αὐτῆς τῷ
 Ἀριοβαρζάνει τὸ δὲ δὴ τῷ Δηιοτάρῳ ἐχαρίσατο.
 4 καὶ τούτοις μὲν οὕτως ἐχρήσατο· τῷ δὲ δὴ Φαρνάκῃ
 προβαλλομένῳ ὅτι μὴ προσαμύναι τῷ Πομπηίῳ,
 καὶ τούτου συγγνώμης ἐφ' οἷς ἐπεποιήκει τυχεῖν
 ἀξιούντι, οὔτε ἐνεῖμεν ἐπιεικὲς οὐδέν, καὶ προσέτι
 καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐπεκάλεσεν, ὅτι καὶ πονηρὸς καὶ
 5 ἀνόσιος περὶ τὸν εὐεργέτην ἐγένετο. τοσαύτη μὲν
 καὶ φιλανθρωπία καὶ ἀρετὴ πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς
 ἀντιπολεμήσαντας αὐτῷ ἐπίπαν⁶ ἐχρήτο· ἀμέλει

¹ φείσεσθαι H. Steph., φείσασθαι L.

² Ταρκονδιμότου R. Steph., ταρκονδομότου L.

³ αὐτῶν R. Steph., αὐτοῦ L.

⁴ ἀφείλετο St., ἀφείλατο L.

⁵ προσευηργέτησεν St., προσευεργέτησεν L.

⁶ ἐπίπαν Kuiper, ἔπηταν L.

BOOK XLI

crisis they would, on occasion, not spare him either. B.C. 48
A proof of his feeling is that he spared Sadalus the Thracian and Deiotarus the Galatian, who had been in the battle, and Tarcondimotus, who was ruler of a portion of Cilicia and had been of the greatest assistance to Pompey in the matter of ships. But what need is there to enumerate the rest who had sent auxiliaries, to whom also he granted pardon, merely exacting money from them? He did nothing else to them and took from them nothing else, though many had received numerous large gifts from Pompey, some long ago and some just at that time. He did give a certain portion of Armenia that had belonged to Deiotarus, to Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, yet in this he did not injure Deiotarus at all, but rather conferred an additional favour upon him. For he did not curtail his territory, but after occupying all of Armenia previously occupied by Pharnaces, he bestowed one part of it upon Ariobarzanes and another part upon Deiotarus. These men, then, he treated in this wise. Pharnaces, on his side, made a plea that he had not assisted Pompey and therefore, in view of his behaviour, deserved to obtain pardon; but Caesar showed him no consideration, and furthermore reproached him for this very thing, that he had proved himself base and impious toward his benefactor. Such humanity and uprightness did he show throughout to all those who had fought against him. At any rate, all the letters that were

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καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ¹ ἀπόθετα τὰ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ
 Πομπηίου κιβωτίοις εὑρεθέντα, ὅσα τινῶν τήν τε
 πρὸς ἐκείνον εὐνοίαν καὶ τήν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν δύσνοιαν
 ἤλεγχεν, οὐτ' ἀνέγνω οὐτ' ἐξεγράψατο ἀλλ'
 6 εὐθὺς κατέφλεξεν, ὅπως μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν δεινὸν
 ἀναγκασθῇ δρᾶσαι, ὥστε τινὰ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς
 ἐπιβουλεύσαντας αὐτῷ μισῆσαι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ
 ἄλλως εἶπον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καιπίων² ὁ Βρούτος
 ὁ Μάρκος, ὁ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνας, καὶ
 ἐάλω ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσώθη.

¹ τὰ added by Rk.

² Καιπίων Leuncl., καπίων L.

BOOK XLI

found filed away in Pompey's chests which convicted B. C. 48
any persons of good-will toward the latter or ill-will
toward himself he neither read nor had copied, but
burned them immediately, in order not to be forced
by what was in them to take severe measures; and
for this reason, if no other, one ought to hate the
men who plotted against him. I make this state-
ment with a particular purpose, since Marcus Brutus
Caepio, who afterwards killed him, was not only
captured by him but also spared.

BOOK XLII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαικῶν

- α. Ὡς Πομπήιος ἡττηθεὶς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἔφυγεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀπέθανεν.
- β. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Πομπήιον ἐπιδιώκων εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἦλθεν.
- γ. Ὡς ἡγγέλθη τὰ κατὰ Καίσαρα καὶ Πομπήιον εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ ἃ¹ ἐψηφίσαντο τῷ Καίσαρι.
- δ. Ὡς ἐστασίασαν οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀποδημίαν.
- ε. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Αἰγυπτίοις πολεμήσας κατεστρέψατο αὐτοὺς καὶ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ ἐχαρίσατο.
- ζ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Φαρνάκην ἐνίκησεν.
- η. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθε καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ κατεστήσατο.
- θ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς Ἀφρικὴν ἐστράτευσεν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γ.² Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος τὸ β' καὶ Πουπλίου Σερουιλίου Ἰσαυρικοῦ ὑπατείας καὶ ἄλλο ἔτος ἔν, ἐν ᾧ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἷδε ἐγένοντο

Γ. Ἰούλιος Γ. υἱ. Καῖσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ β'³

Μ. Ἀντώνιος Μ. υἱ. Ἱππαρχος

ὑπάτω δὲ

Κ. Φούφιος Κ. υἱ. Καλῆνος

Π. Οὐατίνιος⁴ Π. υἱ.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν μάχη τοιαύτη δὴ τις ἐγένετο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὁ Πομπήιος πάντων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων παραχρῆμα ἀπέγνω, καὶ οὐκέτ' οὔτε⁵ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς οὔτε τοῦ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατιωτῶν

¹ & supplied by Xyl. (in transl.).

² τῆς Γ. Bs., τῆς Reim., ἔτη γ̄ L.

³ L has ὑπ' after β'; Xyl. deleted.

BOOK XLII

The following is contained in the Forty-second of Dio's *Rome*.—

How Pompey, defeated in Thessaly, fled to Egypt and perished (chaps. 1-5).

How Caesar, pursuing Pompey, came into Egypt (chaps. 6-9).

How the news about Caesar and Pompey was announced at Rome, and what decrees were passed in honour of Caesar (chaps. 17-20)

How the people in Rome fell into strife during Caesar's absence (chaps. 21-33).

How Caesar fought and subdued the Egyptians and made a present of them to Cleopatra (chaps. 34-44).

How Caesar conquered Pharnaces (chaps. 45-48).

How Caesar returned to Rome and settled matters there (chaps. 49-55).

How Caesar led an expedition into Africa (chaps. 56-58).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of C. Julius Caesar (II) and Publius Servilius Isauricus, together with one additional year, in which there were the magistrates here enumerated :—

^{B C}

47 C. Iulius C. F. Caesar, dictator (II), M. Antonius M. F., master of horse, and the two consuls Q. Fufius Q. F. Calenus and P. Vatinius P. F.

SUCH was the general character of the battle. As P C, 48
a result of it Pompey straightway despaired of all his projects and no longer took any account of his own valour or of the multitude of troops remaining

⁴ Οὐαίλιος R. Steph., οὐαντινος L.

⁵ οὐτε Pflugk, οὐδε L.

- πλήθους οὐθ' ὅτι πολλάκις ἡ τύχη δι' ἐλαχίστου
 τοὺς πταίσαντας ἀναλαμβάνει λογισμόν τινα
 ἐποιήσατο, καίπερ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ πλεί-
 στον μὲν τὸ εὐθυμον πλείστον δὲ τὸ εὐέλπι
 παρὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐσφάλῃ αἰεὶ ποτε σχών.
- 2 αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ἐν μὲν ἐκείνοις ἀντίπαλος ὡς
 πλήθει τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὧν οὐ προελάμβανε τῇ
 γνώμῃ τὴν νίκην, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω τὴν ἑκβασιν
 τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐν τε τῷ θαρσύνει καὶ πρὶν ἐς
 κατάπληξιν τινα ἀφικέσθαι, προσκοπῶν οὐκ
 ἡμέλει τῆς τοῦ χείρονος θεραπείας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ'
 οὐθ' ὑπέκειν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἡναγκάζετο καὶ
 ἀναμάχεσθαι ῥαδίως ἐδύνατο, τότε δὲ πολλῶ τοῦ
 Καίσαρος περισχῆσειν ἐλπίσας οὐδὲν προείδετο.
- 3 οὐκουν¹ οὐδὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ
 ἐποιήσατο, οὐδ' ἀναφυγὴν οὐδεμίαν ἡττηθέντι οἱ
 παρεσκεύασε· τριῖψαί τε δυνηθεὶς ἂν τὰ πράγματα,
 καὶ τούτου ἀμαχεὶ κρατῆσαι (στρατός τε γὰρ
 καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν αὐτῷ προσεγγίνετο, καὶ τὰ
 ἐπιτήδεια ἄφθονα ἄτε ἐν τε φιλίᾳ τῇ πλείστη
 χώρα ὧν καὶ ναυκρατῶν εἶχεν), ὁμως, εἴτε
 ἐθελοντῆς ὡς καὶ πάντως νικήσων, εἴτε καὶ ὑπὸ
- 4 τῶν συνόντων ἐκβιασθεὶς, συνέβαλε. καὶ διὰ
 ταῦτ', ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐνίκηθη, δεινῶς ἐξεπλάγη
 καὶ οὔτε τι² βούλευμα καίριον οὔτ' ἐλπίδα
 βεβαίαν ἐς τὸ ἀνακινδυνεύσαι ἔσχευ. ὅταν γάρ
 τι ἀπροσδοκῆτως τέ τιμι καὶ μετὰ πλείστον
 παραλόγου προσπέσῃ, τό τε φρόνημα αὐτοῦ
 ταπεινοῖ καὶ τὸ λογιζόμενον ἐκπλήσσει, ὥστ'
 αὐτὸν κάκιστόν τε καὶ ἀσθενέστατον τῶν
- 5 πρακτέων κριτὴν γενέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλουσιν οἱ

¹ οὐκουν Bk., οὐκοῦν L.² οὔτε τι Xiph., οὔτι ἐτι L.

BOOK XLII

to him or of the fact that Fortune often restores B.C. 48 the fallen in a moment of time; yet previously he had always possessed the greatest cheerfulness and the greatest hopefulness on all occasions of failure. The reason for this was that on those occasions he had usually been evenly matched with his foe and hence had not taken his victory for granted; but by reflecting beforehand on the two possible issues of events while he was still cool-headed and was not yet involved in any alarm he had not neglected to prepare for the worst. In this way he had not been compelled to yield to disasters and had always been able easily to renew the conflict; but this time, as he had expected to prove greatly superior to Caesar, he had taken no precautions. For instance, he had not placed his camp in a suitable position, nor had he provided a refuge for himself in case of defeat. And whereas he might have delayed action and so have prevailed without a battle,—since his army kept increasing every day and he had abundant provisions, being in a country for the most part friendly and being also master of the sea,—nevertheless, whether of his own accord, because he expected to conquer in any event, or because his hand was forced by his associates, he joined issue. Consequently, as soon as he was defeated, he became greatly terrified and had no opportune plan or sure hope to enable him to face the danger anew. Thus it is that whenever an event befalls a man unexpectedly and contrary to all calculation, it humbles his spirit and strikes his reason with panic, so that he becomes the poorest and weakest judge of what must be done. For reason cannot dwell

λογισμοὶ τοῖς φόβοις συνεῖναι, ἀλλὰ ἂν μὲν προκατάσχωσί τινα, καὶ μάλα γενναίως αὐτοὺς ἀπωθούνται, ἂν δ' ὑστερήσωσιν, ἡττώνται.

- 2 Διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος, ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν προενόησε, καὶ γυμνὸς καὶ ἄφρακτος εὐρέθη, τάχ' ἂν μὴ χαλεπῶς, εἶπερ τι προεώρατο,¹ πάντα διὰ ταχέων ἀνακτησάμενος. τῶν τε γὰρ μεμαχημένων συχνοὶ περιεγεγόνεσαν, καὶ ἑτέρας δυνάμεις οὐ σμικρὰς εἶχε· τό τε μέγιστον καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐκέκτητο καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπάσης ἐκράτει, αἳ τε πόλεις καὶ αἱ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ δυστυχήσαντα αὐτὸν
- 2 ἡγάπων. νῦν δ' ἐπειδήπερ ἐφ' ᾧ μάλιστα ἐθάρσει κακῶς ἀπήλλαξεν, οὐδὲ ἐκείνων οὐδενὶ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτίκα τοῦ φόβου προσβολῆς ἐχρήσατο, ἀλλὰ τό τε ἔρυμα εὐθύς ἐξέλιπε καὶ πρὸς Δάρισ-
- 3 σαν μετ' ὀλίγων ἔφυγε. καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐσῆλθε καίτοι τῶν Λαρισσαίων ἐσκαλούντων, φοβηθεὶς μὴ τινα αἰτίαν ἐκ τούτου ὀφλωσιν· ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν τῷ κρατοῦντι προσχωρήσαι ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τά τε ἐπιτήδεια λαβὼν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καταβὰς ἐς Λέσβον ὀλκάδι² πρὸς τε τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν Κορνηλίαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν υἱόν
- 4 τὸν Σέξτον³ ἔπλευσε. καὶ αὐτοὺς παραλαβὼν καὶ μηδὲ ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην⁴ ἐσελθὼν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπήρε, συμμαχίαν παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλεύοντος αὐτῆς σχήσειν ἐλπίσας· τοῦ τε γὰρ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου τὴν

¹ προεώρατο Bk., προεωράτο L.

² ὀλκάδι R. Steph., ὀλκάδα L.

³ Here and in the majority of instances elsewhere the Mss. read *σέξστον*, but Xiph. and Zon. usually have *σέξτον*.

⁴ Μυτιλήνην Dind., μιτυλήνην L.

BOOK XLII

with fear; if it occupies the ground first, it boldly thrusts the other out, but if it be last on the field, it gets the worst of the encounter. B C 48

Hence Pompey, also, having considered none of the chances beforehand, was found naked and defenceless, whereas, if he had taken any precautions, he might, perhaps, without trouble have quickly recovered everything. For large numbers of the combatants on his side had survived and he had other forces of no small importance. Above all, he possessed large sums of money and was master of the whole sea, and the cities both there and in Asia were devoted to him even in his misfortune. But, as it was, since he had fared ill where he felt most confident, through the fear that seized him at the moment he made no use of any one of these resources, but left the camp at once and fled with a few companions toward Larissa. He did not enter the city, although the inhabitants invited him to do so, because he feared that they might incur some blame in consequence; but bidding them go over to the victor, he himself took provisions, went down to the sea, and sailed away on a merchantman to Lesbos, to his wife Cornelia and his son Sextus. After taking them on board, he did not enter Mitylene either, but departed for Egypt, hoping to secure an auxiliary force from Ptolemy, the king of that country. This was the son of that Ptolemy who had received back the kingdom at his hands,

- βασιλείαν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπολαβόντος υἱὸς ἦν, καὶ
 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐς ἐπικουρίαν οἱ ἐπε-
 5 πόμφει. ἤκουσα μὲν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἐς Πάρθους
 φυγεῖν ἐβουλεύσατο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πιστεύειν
 ἔχω. ἐκείνοί τε γὰρ τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίους πάντας,
 ἀφ' οὗ σφισιν ὁ Κράσσος ἐπεστράτευσεν, καὶ
 τὸν Πομπήιον μάλιστα ἄτε καὶ προσήκοντα αὐτῷ,
 οὕτως ἐμίσουν ὥστε καὶ τὸν πρεσβευτὴν αὐτοῦ
 πρὸς τὴν αἴτησιν τῆς βοηθείας ἐλθόντα δῆσαι
 6 καίπερ βουλευτὴν ὄντα· καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος οὐκ ἂν
 ποτε τοῦ πολεμιοτάτου, οὐ γὰρ¹ εὖ πράττων οὐκ
 ἐτετυχήκει, ἰκέτης ὑπέμεινε δυστυχήσας γενέσθαι.
 3 Ἄλλ' ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον δι' ἅπερ εἶπον ὥρμησε,
 καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον μέχρι Κιλικίας κομισθεὶς
 ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς τὸ Πηλούσιον ἐπεραιώθη, ὅπου ὁ
 Πτολεμαῖος Κλεοπάτρα τῇ² ἀδελφῇ πολεμῶν
 2 ἐστρατοπεδεύετο. τὰς τε ναῦς ἀνοκωχεύσας³
 ἔπεμψέ τινας, τῆς τε πατρῴας αὐτὸν εὐεργεσίας
 ἀναμιμνήσκων καὶ δεόμενος ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς τέ τισι
 καὶ βεβαίοις καταχθῆναι· ἐκβῆναι γὰρ πρὶν
 3 ἀσφάλειάν τινα λαβεῖν οὐκ ἐθάρσησε. καὶ αὐτῷ
 ὁ μὲν Πτολεμαῖος οὐδέν (παῖς γὰρ ἔτι κομιδῇ ἦν)
 ἀπεκρίνατο, τῶν δὲ δὴ Αἰγυπτίων τινὲς καὶ Λού-
 κιος Σεπτίμιος ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, συνεστρατευκὼς μὲν
 ποτε τῷ Πομπηίῳ, συγγεγονὼς δὲ τῷ Γαβινίῳ
 καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνου τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ μετὰ στρατιωτῶν
 4 ἐς φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ καταλελειμμένος, ἦλθον μὲν
 ὡς φίλοι, ἐπεβούλευσαν δὲ ἀνοσίως, καὶ ἐκ τούτου
 προστρόπαιον καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ πάσῃ
 προσέθεντο· αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπώλουντο,

¹ οὐ γὰρ Rk., οὐτε L. ² τῇ supplied by R. Steph.

³ ἀνοκωχεύσας Dind., ἀνακωχεύσας L.

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through the agency of Gabinus, and in return for that service he had sent a fleet to Pompey's assistance. I have heard, indeed, that Pompey even thought of fleeing to the Parthians, but I cannot credit the report. For that race so hated the Romans as a people ever since Crassus had made his expedition against them, and Pompey especially, because he was related to Crassus, that they had even imprisoned his envoy who came with a request for aid, though he was a senator. And Pompey would never have endured in his misfortune to become a suppliant of his bitterest foe for what he had failed to obtain while enjoying success.

He set out, then, for Egypt, for the reasons mentioned, and after coasting along the shore as far as Cilicia crossed from there to Pelusium, where Ptolemy was encamped while making war upon his sister Cleopatra. Bringing the ships to anchor, he sent some men to remind the prince of the favour shown his father and to ask that he be permitted to land under certain definite guarantees; for he did not venture to disembark before obtaining some guarantee of safety. Ptolemy gave him no answer, for he was still a mere boy, but some of the Egyptians and Lucius Septimius, a Roman who had once served with Pompey and after becoming associated with Gabinus had been left behind by him with some troops to guard Ptolemy, came in the guise of friends; but they impiously plotted against him and by their act brought a curse upon themselves and all Egypt. For not only did they themselves

καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ δουλεύειν, ὅπερ ἤκιστα ἐβούλοντο,¹ παρεδόθησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοον ἐσ-
 4 εγράφησαν. ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ τότε Σεπτίμιος καὶ Ἀχιλλᾶς ὁ στρατάρχος, ἄλλοι τε μετ' αὐτῶν ὄντες, ἐτοίμως ἔφασαν ἐσδέξεσθαι² τὸν Πομπήιον, ὅπως ὡς ῥᾶστα ἀπατηθεὶς ἀλοίη.³ καὶ τοὺς τε ἐλθόντας παρ' αὐτοῦ προέπεμψαν, θαρσεῖν σφας ἔνιοι κελεύσαντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀκατίων ἐπιβάντες προσέπλευσαν αὐτῷ,
 2 καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐφιλοφρονήσαντο αὐτὸν καὶ ἠξίωσαν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς μετεκβῆναι, λέγοντες μήτε τινα ναῦν⁴ δύνασθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους διὰ τὰ βράχη πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσσχεῖν,⁵ καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐν πολλῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ εἶναι θᾶσσον αὐτὸν
 3 ἰδεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω, καίτοι πάντων οἱ τῶν σύμπλων ἀπαγορευόντων, πιστεύσας αὐτοῖς . . .⁶ τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπών,

“ὅστις γὰρ ὡς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται,
 κείνου ὅστις δοῦλος, καὶ ἐλεύθερος μόλη·”

4 οἱ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς τῆς γῆς ἐγένοντο, φοβηθέντες μὴ καὶ ἐντυχὼν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ σωθῇ εἴτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων (καὶ γὰρ εὐνοίαν αὐτοῦ⁷ μεγάλην εἶχον), ἀπέκτειναν αὐτὸν πρὶν καταπλεῦσαι, μηδὲν μῆτ' εἰπόντα μῆτ'

¹ ἐβούλοντο R. Steph., ἠβούλοντο L.

² ἐσδέξεσθαι Dind., ἐσδέξασθαι L. ³ ἀλοίη Dind., ἀλώη L.

⁴ ναῦν supplied by Jacoby. ⁵ προσσχεῖν Bk, προσχέιν L.

⁶ At least one word is wanting here, though no lacuna is indicated in L. The scribe of L' conjectured ἐξῆλθε.

⁷ αὐτοῦ supplied by Reim.

BOOK XLII

perish not long afterward, but the Egyptians for their part were first delivered to be slaves of Cleopatra, which they particularly disliked, and later were enrolled among the subjects of Rome. At this time, then, Septimius and Achilles, the commander-in-chief, and others who were with them declared they would readily receive Pompey, their purpose being that he might be the more easily deceived and ensnared. So they sent his messengers on ahead, after some had bidden them be of good cheer, and afterwards the conspirators themselves embarked on some small boats and sailed out to him. After many friendly greetings they begged him to come over to their boats, declaring that by reason of its size and the shallow water a ship could not come close to land and that Ptolemy was very eager to see him promptly. Accordingly, though all his fellow-voyagers urged him not to do so, [he changed boats], trusting in his hosts and saying merely:

“Whoever to a tyrant wends his way,
His slave is he, e’en though his steps be free.”

Sophocles
Incert. Fab.
789 (Nauclæ)

Now when they drew near the land, fearing that if he met Ptolemy he might be saved, either by the king himself or by the Romans who were with him or by the Egyptians, who regarded him with very kindly feelings, they killed him before sailing into the harbour. He uttered not a word and made

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- 5 ὀδυράμενον. ὥς γὰρ τάχιστα τῆς τε ἐπιβουλῆς ἦσθετο, καὶ ἔγνω ὅτι οὕτ' ἀμύνασθαί σφας οὔτε διαφυγεῖν δυνήσεται, συνεκαλύψατο.
- 5 Τοιοῦτον μὲν τὸ τέλος τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἐκείνῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ διὰ τούτου τὴν τε ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου¹ γένους
- 2 ἐλεγχθῆναι. προμηθείας τε γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐλλείπων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ κακουργῆσαί τε δυνάμενον ἀσφαλέστατος² αἰεὶ ποτε γενόμενος ἡπατήθη, καὶ νίκας πολλὰς μὲν³ ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ⁴ Ἀσίᾳ τῇ τε Εὐρώπῃ παραδόξους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐκ μειρακίου ἀνελόμενος ἡττήθη παραλόγως ὀκτώ τε καὶ
- 3 πεντηκοντούτης ὢν, τὴν τε θάλασσαν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πᾶσαν ἡμερώσας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ διώλετο, καὶ χιλίων ποτὲ νεῶν, ὥς ὁ λόγος ἔχει, ἄρξας ἐν πλοιαρίῳ τινί, πρὸς τε τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τρόπον τινὰ οὐ ποτε τὸν πατέρα ἔς τε ἐκείνην ἅμα καὶ ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν κατήγαγε,
- 4 διεφθάρη· ὃν γάρ τοι καὶ τότε ἔτι στρατιῶται Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου χάριν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαβινίου, διὰ τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ μῖσος, καταλειφθέντες ἐφρούρουν, οὗτος αὐτὸν δι' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐκατέρων ἀπεκτονέσθαι
- 5 ἔδοξε. Πομπήιος μὲν δὴ κράτιστος πρότερον Ῥωμαίων νομισθεὶς, ὥστε καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονα αὐτὸν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, τότε καθάπερ τις καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν

¹ ἀνθρωπείου R. Steph., ἀνθρωπίου L.

² ἀσφαλέστατος Dind., ἀσφαλέστατα L.

³ νίκας πολλὰς μὲν R. Steph., νικήσας μὲν πολέμων πολλὰς L.

⁴ τῇ supplied by R. Steph.

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no complaint, but as soon as he perceived their plot and recognized that he would not be able to ward them off or escape, he veiled his face. B.C. 48

Such was the end of Pompey the Great, whereby was proved once more the weakness and the strange fortune of the human race. For, although he was not at all deficient in foresight, but had always been absolutely secure against any force able to do him harm, yet he was deceived; and although he had won many unexpected victories in Africa, and many, too, in Asia and Europe, both by land and by sea, ever since boyhood, yet now in his fifty-eighth year he was defeated without apparent reason. Although he had subdued the entire Roman sea, he perished on it; and although he had once been, as the saying is, "master of a thousand ships,"¹ he was destroyed in a tiny boat near Egypt and in a sense by Ptolemy, whose father he had once restored from exile to that land and to his kingdom. The man whom Roman soldiers were then still guarding,—soldiers left behind by Gabinius as a favour from Pompey and on account of the hatred felt by the Egyptians for the young prince's father,—this very man seemed to have put him to death by the hands of both Egyptians and Romans. Thus Pompey, who previously had been considered the most powerful of the Romans, so that he even received the nickname of Agamemnon,² was now butchered like one of the lowest of

¹ A reference to the Trojan expedition. The actual number of ships under Pompey's command was 270 at the outset of the war with the pirates.

² Plutarch (*Pomp.* 67, 3; *Caes.* 41, 1) says that Domitius Ahenobarbus styled him Agamemnon and King of Kings in order to bring him into disfavour.

- Αἰγυπτίων ἔσχατος, πρὸς τε τῷ Κασίῳ¹ ὄρει καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ ποτε τὰ τε τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ τὰ τῶν καταποντιστῶν ἐπινίκια ἤγαγεν, ἐσφάγη, 6 ὥστε μηδὲν μηδὲ ἐν τούτῳ ὁμολογηθῆναι· ἐν τε γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τὰ λαμπρότατα πρὶν πράξας τότε τὰ ἀλγεινότερα ἔπαθε, καὶ ἐς πάντας τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς Κασσίου ἐκ χρησμοῦ τινος ὑποπτεύων πρὸς μὲν ἀνδρὸς² Κασσίου οὐδενὸς ἐπεβουλευθή, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τῷ ὄρει τῷ τὴν ἐπικλησιν ταύτην ἔχοντι καὶ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐτάφη.
- 7 τῶν δὲ δὴ συμπλεόντων αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα ἐάλωσαν οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔφυγον, ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ παῖς ἧ τε γυνὴ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἡ μὲν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ ταῦτα ἀδείας τυχοῦσα ἀνεσώθη, ὁ δὲ δὴ Σέξτος ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Γναῖον ἐκομίσθη· τούτοις γὰρ δὴ τοῖς ὀνόμασι διακεκρίδεται, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου πρόσρησιν ἀμφότεροι εἶχον.
- 6 Καῖσαρ δὲ ὡς τότε μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὰ κατεπείγοντα διωκῆσατο, τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα τὰ τε λοιπὰ τὰ ταύτῃ ἄλλοις τισὶ καὶ προσποιεῖσθαι καὶ καθίστασθαι προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπεδίωξε. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας κατὰ πύστιν αὐτοῦ προιῶν³ ἠπείλχθη, ἐνταῦθα δέ, ἐπεὶ δὲ μηδεὶς 2 ὄπη πεπλευκὼς ἦν ἠπίστατο, ἐνδιέτριψεν. οὕτω δ' οὖν ἐν τύχῃ πάντα αὐτῷ προεχώρει ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἐν πορθμείῳ τινὶ περαιούμενος ἐνέτυχε μὲν τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου ναυτικῷ μετὰ τοῦ Κασσίου τοῦ Λουκίου πλέοντι, οὐ μόνον δὲ οὐδὲν δεινὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔπαθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσκατα-

¹ Κασίῳ v. Herw., κασσίῳ L. ² ἀνδρὸς Xiph., ἀνδρῶν L.

³ προῖων Leuncl., προσιῶν L.

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the Egyptians themselves, not only near Mount B C 48
Casius but on the anniversary of the day on which he had once celebrated a triumph over Mithridates and the pirates. So even in this respect the two parts of his career were utterly contradictory: on that day of yore he had gained the most brilliant success, whereas he now suffered the most grievous fate; again, following a certain oracle, he had been suspicious of all the citizens named Cassius, but instead of being the object of a plot by any man called Cassius he died and was buried beside the mountain that had this name. Of his fellow-voyagers some were captured at once, while others escaped, among them his wife and son. His wife later obtained pardon and came back safely to Rome, while Sextus proceeded to Africa to his brother Gnaeus; these are the names by which they were distinguished, since they both bore the name of Pompey.

Caesar, when he had attended to pressing demands after the battle and had assigned Greece and the rest of that region to certain others to win over and reduce, set out himself in pursuit of Pompey. He hurried forward as far as Asia following information received about him, and there waited for a time, since no one knew which way he had sailed. Everything turned out favourably for him; for instance, while crossing the Hellespont in a kind of ferry-boat, he met Pompey's fleet sailing with Lucius Cassius in command, but so far from suffering any harm at their hands, he terrified them and won them over to his

3 πλήξας σφᾶς προσεποιήσατο. καὶ τούτου καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐκείνῃ, μηδενὸς ἔτ' ἀνταίρωντος, παρελάμβανε καὶ διώκει, χρημάτων μὲν ἐκλογὴν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ποιούμενος, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν μηδένα λυπών, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐεργετῶν πάντας ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο. τοὺς γοῦν τελώνας πικρότατά σφισι χρωμένους ἀπαλλάξας, ἐς φόρου συντέλειαν τὸ συμβαῖνον ἐκ τῶν τελῶν κατεστήσατο.

7 Κὰν τούτῳ πυθόμενος τὸν Πομπήιον πρὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτον πλέοντα, καὶ δείσας μὴ προκατασχὼν
2 αὐτὴν αὐθις ἰσχύσῃ, ἀφωρμήθη κατὰ τάχος. καὶ ἐκείνου μὲν οὐκέτι περιόντα κατέλαβε, τῇ δ' Ἀλεξανδρεῖα αὐτῇ μετ' ὀλίγων πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, πρὶν τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ τοῦ Πηλουσίου ἐλθεῖν, προσπλεύσας, καὶ τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρέας θορυβουμένους ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου θανάτῳ εὐρών, οὐκ ἐθάρσησεν εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβῆναι, ἀλλ' ἀνορμισάμενος ἀνεῖχε μέχρις οὗ τὴν τε κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα

3 οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου εἶδεν. οὕτω δὴ¹ ἐς μὲν τὴν ἡπειρον θαρσύντως προσέσχεν, ἀγανακτήσεως δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους γενομένης αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγαπητῶς ἐς τὰ βασίλεια προκατέφυγε, τῶν δὲ δὴ στρατιωτῶν τινες τὰ ὅπλα ἀφηρέθησαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἱ λοιποὶ ἀνωρμίσαντο αὐθις, ἕως πᾶσαι αἱ νῆες ἐπικατήχθησαν.

8 ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου κεφαλὴν ἰδὼν κατεδάκρυσεν καὶ κατωλοφύρατο, πολίτην τε αὐτὸν καὶ γαμβρὸν ὀνομάζων, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ποτὲ ἀλλήλοις ἀνθυπουργήκεσαν ἀναριθμούμενος. τοῖς τε ἀποκτείνασιν αὐτὸν οὐχ ὅπως εὐεργεσίαν τινα

¹ δὴ R. Steph., δὲ L.

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side. Thereupon, meeting with no further resistance, he proceeded to take possession of the rest of that region and to regulate its affairs, levying a money contribution, as I have said, but otherwise doing no one any harm and even conferring benefits on all, so far as was possible. In any case he did away with the tax-gatherers, who had been abusing the people most cruelly, and he converted the amount accruing from the taxes into a joint payment of tribute. B.C. 48

Meanwhile he learned that Pompey was sailing to Egypt, and fearing that the other by occupying that country first might again become strong, he set out with all speed. And finding him no longer alive, with a few followers he sailed far in advance of the others to Alexandria itself before Ptolemy came from Pelusium. On discovering that the people of the city were in a tumult over Pompey's death he did not at once venture to go ashore, but put out to sea and waited till he saw the head and finger-ring of the murdered man, sent him by Ptolemy. Thereupon he confidently put in to land; the multitude, however, showed irritation at the sight of his lictors and he was glad to make his escape into the palace. Some of his soldiers had their weapons taken from them, and the rest accordingly put to sea again until all the ships had reached port. Now Caesar at the sight of Pompey's head wept and lamented bitterly, calling him countryman and son-in-law, and enumerating all the kindnesses they had shown each other. As for the murderers, far from admitting that he owed

ὀφείλειν ἔφη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεκάλει, καὶ ἐκείνην κοσμήσαι τε καὶ εὐθετῆσαι καὶ θάψαι τισὶν
 2 ἐκέλευσε. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτῳ ἔπαινον ἔσχειν, ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῇ προσποιήσῃ γέλωτα ὠφλίσκαυε· τῆς γὰρ δυναστείας δεινῶς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐφίεμενος, καὶ ἐκείνον καὶ ὡς ἀνταγωνιστὴν καὶ ὡς ἀντίπαλον αἰεὶ ποτε μισήσας, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 3 πάντα πράξας καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε οὐκ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι παρασκευάσας ἢ ἵνα ἀπολομένου αὐτοῦ πρωτεύσῃ, τότε τε ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι ἐπειχθεὶς ἢ ἵνα αὐτόν, εἰ περιεῖη, προσκατεργάσαιτο, ποθεῖν τε αὐτὸν ἐπλάττετο καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν τῷ ὀλέθρῳ αὐτοῦ ἐσκήπτετο.

- 9 Καὶ ὁ μὲν μηδὲν ἔτι πολέμιον ὑπεξηρημένου οἱ ἐκείνου καταλείπεσθαι¹ νομίζων, ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἐνεχρόνισεν ἀργυρολογῶν καὶ τὰ τοῦ² Πτολεμαίου καὶ τὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας διάφορα διακρίνων· πόλεμοι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἕτεροι αὐτῷ παρεσκευά-
 2 σθησαν. ἣ τε γὰρ Αἴγυπτος ἐνεόχμωσε, καὶ ὁ Φαρνάκης ἤρξατο μὲν εὐθύς, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον τὸν τε Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι ἔμαθε, τῆς³ πατρῷας ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι (χρο-
 νιεῖν τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ στάσει καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτὰς περὶ αὐταῖς ἀναλώσειν
 3 ἤλπισεν), εἵχετο δὲ καὶ τότε τῶν προκειμένων, ὅτι τε ἅπαξ ἐκεκίνητο καὶ ὅτι πόρρῳ τὸν Καίσαρα ὄντα ἐπύθετο, καὶ πολλὰ γε χωρία προκατέλαβε. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Κάτων καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων, οἳ τε ἄλλοι οἱ τὴν αὐτὴν σφισι γνώμην ἔχοντες, καὶ

¹ καταλείπεσθαι St., καταλιπέσθαι L.

² καὶ τὰ τοῦ R. Steph., καὶ κατὰ τοῦ L.

³ τῆς Rk., τῆς τε L.

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them any reward, he actually heaped reproaches upon them; and he commanded that the head should be adorned, properly prepared, and buried. For this he received praise, but for his hypocrisy he incurred ridicule. He had, of course, from the outset been very eager for dominion; he had always hated Pompey as his antagonist and rival, and besides all his other measures against him he had brought on this war with no other purpose than to secure this rival's ruin and his own supremacy; he had but now been hurrying to Egypt with no other end in view than to overthrow him completely if he should still be alive; yet he feigned to mourn his loss and made a show of vexation over his murder.

In the belief that now that Pompey was out of his way there was no longer any hostility left against him, he spent some time in Egypt levying money and deciding the differences between Ptolemy and Cleopatra. Meanwhile other wars were being prepared against him. Egypt revolted, and Pharnaces, just as soon as he had learned that Pompey and Caesar were at variance, had begun to lay claim to his ancestral domain, since he hoped that they would waste a lot of time in their quarrel and use up the Roman forces upon each other; and he now still went ahead with his plans, partly because he had once made a beginning and partly because he learned that Caesar was far away, and he actually seized many points before the other's arrival. Meanwhile Cato and Scipio and the others who were of the same

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ἐμφύλιον καὶ ὀθνείον ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ πόλεμον ἤγειραν.

- 10 Ἔσχε γὰρ οὕτως. ὁ Κάτων ἐν τῷ Δυρραχίῳ πρὸς τοῦ Πομπηίου τά τε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιτηρεῖν, ἅν τις διαβαίνει, καὶ τοὺς Παρθινοὺς κατείργειν, ἅν τι παρακινῶσι, καταλειφθεὶς τὸ
 - 2 μὲν πρῶτον ἐκείνοις ἐπολέμει, ἡττηθέντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου τὴν μὲν Ἥπειρον ἐξέλιπευ, ἐς δὲ Κέρκυραν μετὰ τῶν ὁμογνωμονούντων οἱ κομισθεὶς ἐνταῦθα τοὺς τε ἐκ τῆς μάχης διαφυγόντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰ αὐτὰ φρονούντας ἐδέχετο. Κικέρων μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν βουλευτῶν
 - 3 ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην παραχρῆμα ἀπήρην· οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους μετὰ τε τοῦ Λαβιήνου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀφρανίου, ἅτε μηδεμίαν ἐν τῷ Καίσαρι ἐλπίδα, ὁ μὲν ὅτι ἡτομολήκει, ὁ δὲ ὅτι σωθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ αὐθὶς οἱ ἐπεπολεμήκει, ἐχόντων, πρὸς τε τὸν Κάτωνα ἦλθον καὶ ἐκείνον προστησάμενοι ἐπολέ-
 - 11 μουν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ὀκτάουιός σφισι προσεγένετο. ὥς γὰρ τότε τὸν Ἴόνιον ἐσέπλευσε καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὸν Γάιον συνέλαβεν, ἄλλων μὲν τινων χωρίων ἐκράτησε, τὴν δὲ δὴ Σάλωνα, καίπερ ἐπὶ πλείστον αὐτὴν πολιορκήσας, οὐχ
 - 2 εἶλε. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρούοντο, βοηθοῦντά σφισι τὸν Γαβίνιον ἔχοντες, καὶ τέλος μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπεκδραμόντες μέγα ἔργον εἰργάσαντο· ἐκεῖναί τε γὰρ τὰς τε κόμας καθεῖσαι καὶ στολὰς μελαίνας ἐνδυσάμεναι λαμπάδας τε λαβοῦσαι, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν πρὸς τὸ
 - 3 φοβερώτατον σχηματισάμεναι, τῷ τε στρατοπέδῳ τῷ πολιορκούντί σφας νυκτὸς μέσης προσέμιξαν, καὶ τοὺς προφύλακας ὥς καὶ δαίμονες τινες ἐκ-

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mind with them set on foot in Africa a struggle that was at once a civil and a foreign war. B.C. 48

It came about in this way. Cato had been left behind at Dyrrachium by Pompey to keep an eye out for any forces from Italy which might try to cross over, and to repress the Parthini, in case they should begin any disturbance. At first he carried on war with the latter, but after Pompey's defeat he abandoned Epirus, and proceeding to Corcyra with those of the same mind as himself, he there received the men who had escaped from the battle and the rest who had the same sympathies. Cicero and a few other senators had set out for Rome at once, but the majority, including Labienus and Afranius, who had no hope in Caesar,—the one because he had deserted him, and the other because after having been pardoned by him he had again made war on him,—went to Cato, put him at their head, and continued the war. Later Octavius also joined them. After sailing into the Ioman Sea and arresting Gaius Antonius, he had conquered several places, but could not take Salonae, though he besieged it a very long time. For the inhabitants, having Gabinius to assist them, vigorously repulsed him and finally along with the women made a sortie and performed a remarkable deed. The women let down their hair and robed themselves in black garments, then taking torches and otherwise making their appearance as terrifying as possible, they assaulted the camp of the besiegers at midnight. They threw the outposts, who thought they were

- πλήξασαι τὸ πῦρ ἐς τὸ χάρικωμα ἀπανταχόθεν ἅμα ἐνέβαλον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπισπόμενοί σφισι πολλοὺς μὲν ταραττομένους πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ καθεύδοντας ἐφόνευσαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνό τε εὐθὺς κατέσχον, καὶ τὸ ναύσταθμον ἐν ᾧ ὁ Ὀκτάουιος
 4 ἠϋλίζετο αὐτοβοεῖ εἶλον. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν ῥαστῶνῃ τινὶ ἐγένοντο· διαφυγῶν γάρ πως αὐτοὺς δύνάμιν τε αὐθις ἤθροισε, καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας προσήδρευε σφίσι. κὰν τούτῳ τοῦ Γαβινίου νόσῳ τελευτήσαντος τῆς τε θαλάσσης τῆς ἐκεῖ πάσης
 5 ἐκράτησε, καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβαίνων πολλὰ αὐτῆς ἐκακούργει, μέχρις οὗ ἣ τε πρὸς¹ Φαρσάλῳ μάχῃ ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλευσάντων τινῶν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου σφίσι μετέστησαν, μηδὲ ἐς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἐλθόντες. τότε γὰρ ἐρημωθεὶς τῶν συμμάχων ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀπεχώρησε.
- 12 Καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος δὲ ὁ Γναῖος πρότερον μὲν τῷ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ναυτικῷ περιπλέων τὴν τε Ἡπειρον καλουμένην κατέτρεχε καὶ Ὀρικόν² ὀλίγου εἶλε, Μάρκου Ἀκιλίου³ αὐτὸ κατέχοντος, καὶ τὸν τε⁴ ἔσπλουν τὸν ἐς τὸν λιμένα πλοίοις λίθων γέμουσι χώσαντος,⁵ καὶ περὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ πύργους ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ τε τῆς
 2 ἡπείρου καὶ ἐφ' ὀλκάδων ἐγείραντος. τοὺς τε γὰρ λίθους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σκάφεσιν ἐγκειμένους κολυμβηταῖς ὑφύδροις⁶ διασκεδάσας, καὶ αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα κουφισθέντα ἐλκύσας, τὸν τε ἔσπλουν ἡλευθέρωσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὀπλίτας ἐφ' ἐκάτερα

¹ πρὸς Dind., πρὸς τῷ L.² Ὀρικόν Xyl., νωρικόν L. (so just below).³ Ἀκιλίου Xyl., ἀκιλίου L.⁴ τὸν τε R. Steph., τότε L.⁵ χώσαντος Xyl., χώσαντες L.⁶ ὑφύδροις Xyl., ἐφύδροις L.

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spirits, into a panic, and then from all sides at once B.C. 48 hurled the fire within the palisade, and the men, following them, slew many while they were in confusion and many who were still asleep, promptly gained possession of the camp, and captured without a blow the harbour in which Octavius was lying. They were not, however, left in peace. For he escaped them somehow, gathered a force again, and after defeating them in battle besieged them. Meanwhile, as Gabinius had died of some disease, he gained control of the whole sea in that vicinity, and by making descents upon the land ravaged many districts. This lasted until the battle at Pharsalus, after which his soldiers, as soon as a force sailed against them from Brundisium, changed sides without even coming to blows with them. Then, destitute of allies, Octavius retired to Corcyra.

Gnaeus Pompey first sailed about with the Egyptian fleet and overran the district called Epirus, almost capturing Oricum. The commander of the place, Marcus Acilius,¹ had blocked up the entrance to the harbour by means of boats loaded with stones and about the mouth of it had raised towers on either side, both on the land and on freight-ships. Pompey, however, had divers scatter the stones that were in the vessels, and when the latter had been lightened, he dragged them out of the way, freed the passage, and then, after putting heavy-armed troops ashore

¹ M. Acilius Caninus.

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- τῆς χηλῆς ἐκβιβάσας ἐπεσέπλευσε,¹ καὶ τά τε πλοῖα πάντα καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ πολὺ
- 3 κατέκαυσεν. εἶλε δ' ἂν καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν, εἰ μὴ τρωθεὶς δέος τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μὴ καὶ ἀποθάνῃ παρέσχε. θεραπευθεὶς δ' οὖν Ὀρικῶ μὲν οὐκέτι προσέβαλε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα περιφοιτῶν ἐπόρθει, καὶ ποτε καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου μάτην,
- 4 ὥσπερ που καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, ἐπέιρασε. τέως μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίει· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τε πατήρ αὐτοῦ ἡττήθη καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι πυθόμενοι τοῦτο οἴκαδε ἀπέπλευσαν, οὕτω δὴ πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα ἀφίκετο.
- 13 καὶ αὐτὸν Κάσσιος ὁ Γάιος ἐμιμήσατο, πλείστα μὲν καὶ τῆς Σικελίας καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας λυπήσας, πολλαῖς δὲ μάχαις ἔν τε τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ συχνοὺς νικήσας.
- 2 Προύχοντα μὲν δὴ² τὸν Κάτωνα ἀρετῇ σφῶν ἰδόντες πολλοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν συγκατέφυγον, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνος συναγωνισταῖς καὶ συμβούλοις πρὸς πάντα χρώμενος ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ὥς καὶ καταληψόμενος αὐτήν, ἔπλευσεν· οὐ γάρ πω
- 3 τὸν Πομπήιον τεθνεῶτα ἠκηκόει. καὶ Πάτρας μὲν κατέσχον, κἀνταῦθα ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Πετρεῖον τόν τε Πομπηίου γαμβρὸν τὸν Φαῦστον³ προσέλαβον· Κυνίντου δὲ δὴ Φουφίου Καλήνου μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπιστρατεύσαντός σφισιν ἐξανήχθησαν, καὶ ἐς Κυρήνην ἐλθόντες καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου θάνατον μαθόντες οὐκέτι συνεφρό-
- 4 νησαν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Κάτων δι' ἀχθιδόνα τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος δυναστείας, καὶ ἄλλοι τινές δι'

¹ ἐπεσέπλευσε Xyl., ἔπεισε πλεῦσαι L.

² δὴ Bk., τοι L.

³ τόν τε Πομπηίου γαμβρὸν τὸν Φαῦστον Leuncl., Πομπήιον τὸν Φαῦστον L.

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on each half of the breakwater, he sailed in. He B.C. 48
burned all the boats and most of the city, and would have captured the rest of it, had he not been wounded and caused the Egyptians to fear that he might die. When, now, his wound had been cured, he did not continue to assail Oricum, but journeyed about pillaging various places and once vainly made an attempt upon Brundisium itself, as did some others. He was thus occupied for a time; but when his father had been defeated and the Egyptians on receipt of the news sailed home, he betook himself to Cato. And his example was followed by Gaius Cassius, who had done very great mischief both in Italy and in Sicily and had overcome a number of opponents in many battles both on sea and on land.

Many, indeed, fled to Cato for refuge, since they saw that he excelled them in uprightness; and he, using them as helpers and counsellors in all matters, sailed to the Peloponnesus with the intention of occupying it, for he had not yet heard that Pompey was dead. They seized Patrae and there received among other accessions Petreius and Pompey's son-in-law, Faustus. Subsequently Quintus Fufius Calenus marched against them, whereupon they set sail, and coming to Cyrene, learned there of the death of Pompey. Their views were now no longer harmonious: Cato, through hatred of Caesar's

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- ἀπογνώσιν τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ συγγνώμης, ἔς τε τὴν Ἀφρικὴν μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπλευσαν καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα προσλαβόντες πάντα ἐπὶ τῷ
- 5 Καίσαρι ἔπραττον, οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους ἐσκεδάσθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἀποχωρήσαντες ἀπήλλαξαν ὥς που καὶ συνέτυχε σφίσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα παραχρῆμα ἐλθόντες, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Γάιος Κάσσιος, ἀδείας ἔτυχον.
- 14 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Καλῆνος ἐπέμφθη τε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρὸ τῆς μάχης ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ εἶλεν ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἅτε καὶ ἀτείχιστον ὄντα. τὰς γὰρ Ἀθήνας, καίπερ πλείστα τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν κακώσας, οὐκ ἠδυνήθη πρὸ τῆς τοῦ
- 2 Πομπηίου ἡττης λαβεῖν· τότε γὰρ ἐθέλονται αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ μηδὲν μνησικακήσας ἀθῶνους ἀφήκε, τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπὼν, ὅτι πολλὰ ἀμαρτάνοντες ὑπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν σῴζοιντο. τὸ δὲ δὴ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐδήλου ὅτι σφῶν
- 3 ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ἐφείσατο. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πλείω τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐθύς τότε ὠμολόγησαν αὐτῷ, Μεγαρεῖς δὲ καὶ ὥς ἀντέσχον· πολλῷ τε¹ ὕστερον χρόνῳ τὰ μὲν βία τὰ δὲ καὶ προδοσίᾳ ἤλωσαν. ὅθενπερ φόνος τε αὐτῶν
- 4 πολὺς ἐγένετο καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπράθησαν. ὁ μέντοι Καλῆνος τοῦτο μὲν, ἵνα δὴ καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν αὐτοὺς τετιμωρῆσθαι δόξῃ, ἐποίησε· φοβηθεῖς δὲ μὴ καὶ παντελῶς ἡ πόλις ἀπόληται, πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύουσιν σφᾶς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐλαχίστου ἀπέδοτο, ἵν' ἐλευθερωθῶσι.

¹ τε Dind., γε L.

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domination, and some others in despair of receiving pardon from him, sailed to Africa with the army, added Scipio to their number, and were as active as possible against Caesar; but the majority scattered, some of them retiring and escaping wherever they could, while the rest, among them Gaius Cassius, went to Caesar at once and received pardon. B.C. 48

Calenus had been sent by Caesar into Greece before the battle, and he captured among other places the Piraeus, owing to its being unwall'd. Athens he had been unable to take, in spite of a great deal of damage he did to its territory, until the defeat of Pompey. The inhabitants then came over to him voluntarily, and Caesar, cherishing no resentment, let them go unharmed, merely remarking that in spite of their many offences they were saved by the dead. This remark signified that it was on account of their ancestors and on account of their glory and excellence that he spared them. Accordingly Athens and most of the rest of Greece then at once made terms with him; but the Megarians in spite of this resisted and were captured only at a considerably later date, partly by force and partly by treachery. Therefore many of the inhabitants were slain and the survivors sold. Calenus took this course so that men might think that he had punished them according to their deserts; but since he feared that the city might perish utterly, he sold the captives in the first place to their relatives, and in the second place for a very small sum, so that they might regain their freedom.

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- 5 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ἐπὶ τε τὰς Πάτρας
ἐπεστράτευσεν, καὶ ἀμαχεῖ αὐτάς, τὸν τε Κάτωναν
καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ προεκφοβήσας,¹ κατέσχευεν·
15 ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα² ὥς ἕκαστα ἐπράττετο, καὶ ἡ
Ἰβηρία καίπερ εἰρηνεύσασα ἐκινήθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ
ὁ Λογγίνος ὁ Κύντος πολλὰ καὶ τότε αὐτοὺς
ἐλυμαίνετο, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγοι τινὲς συνέστη-
2 σαν ὥς καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες αὐτόν· ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ
τρωθεῖς διέφυγε κακὰ τούτου πολλῶ μείζων σφᾶς
ἡδίκηει, συχνοὶ μὲν Κορδουβήσιοι συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ
στρατιῶται, ἅτε καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου γεγονότες,
3 ἐπανέστησαν αὐτῷ, Μάρκον Μάρκελλον Αἰσερ-
νῖνον τὸν ταμίαν προστησάμενοι. οὐ μὴν καὶ
ὅλη τῇ γνώμῃ αὐτοὺς προσεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ τό τε
ἀστάθμητον τῶν πραγμάτων ὁρῶν καὶ τὴν ἐκβασίν
σφῶν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα προσδεχόμενος ἐπημφοτέρηζε
καὶ διὰ μέσου πάντα καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ἔπραττεν,
ὥστε, ἂν τε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἂν τε καὶ ὁ Πομπηίος
κρατήσῃ, ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι συνηγωνίσθαι δόξαι.
4 Πομπηίῳ μὲν γάρ, ὅτι τοὺς τε μεταστάντας
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο καὶ τῷ Λογγίνῳ τὰ τοῦ
Καίσαρος πράττειν λέγοντι ἀντεπολέμησεν, ἐχα-
ρίσατο, Καῖσαρι δὲ ὅτι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὥς
καὶ τοῦ Λογγίνου νεωτερίζοντός τι, παραλαβὼν
τούτους τε αὐτῷ ἐτήρησε καὶ ἐκείνους οὐκ εἶασε
5 πολεμωθῆναι. καὶ τό γε ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου
τῶν στρατιωτῶν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἐπιγραφάντων
ἀπῆλειψεν, ὅπως καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τῷ μὲν τὰ
ἔργα τῶν ὅπλων τῷ δὲ τὴν δόκησιν προβάλλων,
καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κρατήσαντος γεγονότων

¹ προεκφοβήσας Leuncl., προσεκφοβήσας L.

² ταῦτα Rk., ταῦτά τε L.

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After these achievements he marched upon Patrae B C. 48 and occupied it easily, as he had already frightened Cato and his followers away. Now while these various operations were being carried on, there was an uprising in Spain, although the country had been at peace. For the Spaniards were at the time being subjected to many abuses by Quintus Longinus, and at first some few banded together to kill him; he was wounded but escaped, and after that proceeded to injure them a great deal more. Then a number of Cordubans and a number of soldiers who had formerly belonged to the Pompeian party rose against him, putting at their head Marcus Marcellus Aeserninus, the quaestor. The latter, however, did not accept their appointment with his whole heart, but seeing the uncertainty of events and looking for them to turn out either way, he played a double game, taking a neutral attitude in all that he said and did, so that whether Caesar or Pompey should prevail he might seem to have fought for the victor in either case. He favoured Pompey, on the one hand, by receiving those who had transferred their allegiance to him and by fighting against Longinus, who declared he was on Caesar's side; on the other hand, he did a kindness to Caesar in taking charge of the soldiers when, as he would say, Longinus was beginning a rebellion, and in keeping these men for him and not allowing their commander to become hostile. And when the soldiers inscribed the name of Pompey on their shields, he erased it, so that he might thereby plead with the one man the deeds done by the arms and with the other their apparent ownership, and by laying claim to the deeds

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- προσποιούμενος, τὰ δὲ ἐναντία ἔς τε τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ ἔς ἄλλους τινὰς ἀναφέρων, ἀσφαλὲς εἶη·
- 16 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, καίτοι παρασχὼν αὐτῷ παντελῶς τοῦ Λογγίνου τῷ πλήθει κρατῆσαι, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἔς τε ἔνδειξιν καὶ ἐς παρασκευὴν ὧν ἐβούλετο προάγων τὰ πράγματα, ἐπ' ἄλλοις τισὶ τὰ ἀμφίλογα αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο, ὥστε καὶ ἐν οἷς ἡλαττώθη καὶ ἐν οἷς ἐπλεονέκτησέ τι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμοίως τὰ μὲν ὡς αὐτὸς καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησε,
- 2 τὰ δὲ ὡς ἕτεροι, προτείνασθαι δυνηθῆναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω διαγαγὼν μέχρις οὗ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνίκησε, παραχρῆμα μὲν ἐς ὄργην αὐτῷ¹ ἦλθε καὶ ὑπερωρίσθη, ἔπειτα δὲ κατήλθε καὶ ἐτιμήθη· Λογγίνος δέ, καταβοησάντων αὐτοῦ διὰ πρεσβείας τῶν Ἰβήρων, τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ἐξέπεσε, καὶ οἵκαδε ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐφθάρη πρὸς ταῖς τοῦ Ἰβηρος ἐκβολαῖς.
- 17 Ταῦτα μὲν ἔξω ἐγίγνετο· οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τέως μὲν ἐν τε ἀμφιλόγῳ² καὶ ἐν μετεώρῳ τά τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου πράγματα ἦν, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς πάντες τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπὸ τε τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ τῆς συνούσης σφίσι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σερουιλίου τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐσπού-
 2 δαζον, καὶ εἴτε που κρατήσας ἠγγέλθη, ἔχαιρον, εἴτε καὶ πταίσας, ἐλυποῦντο, οἱ μὲν ἀληθῶς οἱ δὲ πλαστῶς ἐκάτερον· καὶ γὰρ κατὰσκοποὶ σφῶν καὶ κατήκοοι, πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐλέγετο καὶ ἐγίγνετο παρατηροῦντες, πολλοὶ περιενόστουν·
- 3 ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὰ ἐναντιώτατα τῶν φανερῶν οἱ τῷ τε Καίσαρι ἀχθόμενοι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου προ-

¹ αὐτῷ Xyl., αὐτῶν L.

² τε ἀμφιλόγῳ Bk., τῷ ἀμφιλόγῳ L.

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that turned out to be in behalf of the victor and by laying upon necessity or upon other persons the blame for the contrary events he might be on the safe side. Consequently, although he had the opportunity of utterly defeating Longinus by his superior numbers, he refused, but by managing his affairs so as to create appearances and to carry out his designs, he put the responsibility for his questionable acts upon others. Thus both in his reverses and in his successes he could make the plea that he was acting equally in behalf of the same person · in the one case he would urge that he had, or had not, done the thing himself, and in the other case that others had or had not been responsible. He went on in this way until Caesar actually conquered, and though at the moment he incurred his anger and was banished, yet later he was restored and honoured. Longinus, however, being denounced by the Spaniards through an embassy, was deprived of his office, and while on his way home perished near the mouths of the Iberus. B.C. 48

These events were occurring abroad. In Rome, as long as the issue between Caesar and Pompey was doubtful and unsettled, the people all ostensibly favoured Caesar, because of his troops that were in their midst and because of his colleague Servilius. Whenever a victory of his was reported, they rejoiced, and whenever a reverse, they grieved, some sincerely and some feignedly in each case; for there were many spies and eavesdroppers prowling about, observing all that was said and done on such occasions. But privately the talk and actions of those who detested Caesar and preferred Pompey's

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- αιρούμενοι καὶ ἔλεγον καὶ ἐποίουν, καὶ τούτου τα
 τε ἀγγελλόμενα¹ κατὰ τὸ πρόσφορόν σφισιν
 ἀμφοτέροι λαμβάνοντες τοῖς μὲν δεδιότως τοῖς δὲ
 4 θαρσύνωντας ἐχρῶντο, καὶ οἷα πολλῶν καὶ ποι-
 κίλων ἔν τε τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ
 πολλάκις λογοποιουμένων χαλεπώτατα διετί-
 θεντο· καὶ γὰρ ἤδοντο καὶ ἐλυποῦντο καὶ ἐθάρ-
 18 σουν καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο διὰ βραχυτάτου. ἀγγελ-
 θείσης δὲ τῆς Φαρσαλικῆς μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν
 ἠπίσταντο· οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷ κοινῷ τι ἐπέ-
 στείλειν, ὁκνήσας δημοσίᾳ χαίρων ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ
 νίκη φανῆναι (διόπερ οὐδὲ ἐπινίκια αὐτῆς ἔπεμψε),
 καὶ ὁ παράλογος πρὸς τε τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν
 2 καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐλπιζόμενα πολὺς ἐφαίνετο. ὥς δ'
 οὖν ἐπίστευσάν ποτε, τὰς μὲν εἰκόνας τοῦ τε
 Πομπηίου καὶ τοῦ Σύλλου τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ βήματι
 ἐστῶσας ἀνεῖλον, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν τότε ἔπραξαν·
 συχνοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο βουλόμενοι ποιῆσαι,
 συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον, μὴ πως ἀναμαχέ-
 σηται, φοβούμενοι, τῷ τε Καίσαρι καὶ ἐκείνῳ²
 3 ἱκανῶς ἔχειν ἐνόμιζον, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον εὐπαραί-
 τητον³ ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι σφισι προσεδόκων.
 ἐπεὶ μέντοι καὶ ἀπέθανεν, ὧς μὲν καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ
 οὐ πρότερον πρὶν τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα
 ἰδεῖν, ἐπίστευσαν (ἐνεγέγλυπτο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τρό-
 19 παια τρία, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Σύλλου), ὥς δ'
 οὖν ἐτεθνήκει, φανερώς τε ἤδη τὸν μὲν ἐπήνουν
 τὸν δὲ ἐλοιδόρουν, καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι ποτὲ ἐξευρεῖν
 ἐδύναντο ἐσηγοῦντο δοθῆναι τῷ Καίσαρι. καὶ ἔν

¹ ἀγγελλόμενα Xyl, ἀπολλόμενα L.

² ἐκεῖνο Xyl., ἐκεῖναι L.

³ εὐπαραίτητον Bs., ἀπαραίτητον L.

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side were the very opposite of their public expressions. B.C. 48
Hence, as both sides received the various reports in the light of their own advantage, they were inspired sometimes with fear and sometimes with boldness, and inasmuch as many diverse rumours would often be going about on the same day and at the same hour, their position was a most trying one; for they were pleased and distressed, bold and fearful, all within the briefest space of time. When the battle of Pharsalus was announced, they were long incredulous. For Caesar sent no despatch to the government, hesitating to appear to rejoice publicly over such a victory, for which reason also he celebrated no triumph; and furthermore the event was clearly very improbable in view of the relative equipment of the two forces and the hopes entertained. But when at last they gave the story credence, they removed the images of Pompey and of Sulla that stood upon the rostra, but did nothing further at the time. Many, indeed, did not wish to do even this, and many also, fearing that Pompey might renew the strife, regarded this as quite enough for Caesar and expected that it would be a fairly simple matter to placate Pompey on account of it. Even when he had died, they did not believe it for a long time, not, in fact, until they saw his seal-ring that had been sent; it had three trophies carved on it, as had that of Sulla. So when he was really dead, at last they openly praised the victor and abused the vanquished, and proposed that everything in the world which they could devise should be given to Caesar. And not only in this

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respect was there great rivalry among practically all the foremost men, who were eager to outdo one another in fawning upon him, but also in voting such measures. By their shouts and by their gestures they all, as if Caesar were present and looking on, showed the very greatest zeal and thought that in return for it they would get immediately—as if they were doing it to please him at all and not from necessity—one an office, another a priesthood, and a third some pecuniary reward. I shall omit those honours which had either been voted to some others previously—images, crowns, front seats, and things of that kind—or which, while novel and proposed now for the first time, were not confirmed by Caesar, for fear that I might become wearisome, were I to enumerate them all. This same plan I shall follow in my subsequent account, adhering the more strictly to it, as the honours proposed continually grew more numerous and more absurd. Only such as had some special and extraordinary importance and were confirmed will be related. B.C. 48

They granted him, then, permission to do whatever he wished to those who had favoured Pompey's cause, not that he had not already received this right from himself, but in order that he might seem to be acting with some show of legal authority. They appointed him arbiter of war and peace with all mankind—using the conspirators in Africa as a pretext—without the obligation even of making any communication on the subject to the people or the senate. This,

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που καὶ τοῦτο καὶ πρὶν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ἄτε καὶ
 δύναμιν τηλικαύτην ἔχοντι· τοὺς γοῦν πολέμους οὓς
 ἐπολέμησε πάντας ὀλίγου καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνείλετο·
 ὁμῶς δ' οὖν αὐτῷ (πολιταί τε γὰρ καὶ αὐτοτελεῖς
 ἔτι δοκεῖν εἶναι ἤθελον) ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐψηφίσαντο
 καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ἀ¹ καὶ ἀκόντων αὐτῶν ἔχειν
 3 ἐδύνατο. ὑπατός τε γὰρ ἔτη πέντε ἐφέξῃς
 γενέσθαι καὶ δικτάτωρ οὐκ ἐς ἔκμηνον ἄλλ'
 ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον λεχθῆναι ἔλαβεν, τήν τε
 ἐξουσίαν τῶν δημάρχων διὰ βίου ὡς εἰπεῖν
 προσέθετο· συγκαθέζεσθαί τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν
 αὐτῶν βάθρων καὶ ἐς τᾶλλα συνεξετάζεσθαί
 4 σφίσιν, ὃ μηδενὶ ἐξῆν, εὔρετο.² αἷ τε³ ἀρχαι-
 ρεσίαι πᾶσαι, πλὴν τῶν τοῦ πλήθους, ἐπ'
 αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν παρουσίαν
 αὐτοῦ ἀναβληθεῖσαι ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἔτους ἐτελέ-
 σθησαν. τὰς τε ἡγεμονίας τὰς ἐν τῷ ὑπηκόῳ
 τοῖς μὲν ὑπάτοις αὐτοὶ δῆθεν ἐκλήρωσαν, τοῖς
 δὲ δὴ στρατηγοῖς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀκληρωτὶ δοῦναι
 ἐψηφίσαντο· ἐς τε γὰρ τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ ἐς
 τοὺς στρατηγούς αὐθις παρὰ τὰ δεδογμένα
 5 σφίσιν ἐπανῆλθον. καὶ ἕτερον δέ τι, εἰθισμένον
 μὲν γίγνεσθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ τοῦ καιροῦ διαφθορᾷ
 καὶ ἐπίφθονον καὶ νεμεσητὸν ὄν, ἔγνωσαν· τοῦ
 γὰρ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τε τὸν Ἰόβαν καὶ πρὸς
 τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πολεμήσαντας,
 ὃν ὁ Καίσαρ οὐδέπω τότε οὐδ' ὅτι γενήσοιτο
 ἠπίστατο, πέμψαι τινὰ αὐτῷ νικητήρια ὡς
 κεκρατηκότι προσέταξαν.

¹ ἀ added by Xyl. ² εὔρετο R. Steph., εὔρητο L.

³ τε Bk., τε γὰρ L.

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of course, also lay in his power before, inasmuch as he had so large an armed force ; at any rate the wars he had fought he had undertaken on his own authority in nearly every case. Nevertheless, because they wished still to appear to be free and independent citizens, they voted him these rights and everything else which it was in his power to have even against their will. Thus he received the privilege of being consul for five consecutive years and of being chosen dictator, not for six months, but for an entire year, and he assumed the tribunician authority practically for life ; for he secured the right of sitting with the tribunes upon the same benches and of being reckoned with them for other purposes—a privilege which was permitted to no one. All the elections except those of the plebs now passed into his hands, and for this reason they were delayed till after his arrival and were held toward the close of the year.¹ In the case of the governorships in subject territory the citizens pretended to allot themselves those which fell to the consuls, but voted that Caesar should give the others to the praetors without the casting of lots ; for they had gone back to consuls and praetors again contrary to their decree. And they also granted another privilege, which was customary, to be sure, but in the corruption of the times might cause hatred and resentment : they decreed that Caesar should hold a triumph for the war against Juba and the Romans who fought with him, just as if he had been the victor, although, as a matter of fact, he had not then so much as heard that there was to be such a war.

¹ The year 47, in which Caesar came to Rome, is here meant, or else Dio has made an error.

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- 21 Ταῦτ' οὖν οὕτω καὶ ἐψηφίσθη καὶ ἐκυρώθη· καὶ ὁ τε Καῖσαρ τὴν δικτατορίαν παραχρήμα, καίπερ ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ὢν, ὑπέστη, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον μηδὲ ἐστρατηγηκότα ἵππαρχον προελόμενος, καὶ εἶπε καὶ τοῦτον ὁ ὕπατος, καίτοι τῶν οἰωνιστῶν σφοδρότατα ἀντειπόντων μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι πλεῖω τοῦ ἑξαμήνου χρόνον ἱππαρχῆσαι.
- 2 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γέλωτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλὸν ὠφλίσκανον, αὐτὸν μὲν τὸν δικτάτορα ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν παρὰ πάντα τὰ πάτρια λεχθῆναι γνόντες, περὶ
- 22 δὲ δὴ τοῦ ἱππάρχου ἀκριβολογούμενοι· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καίλιος¹ ὁ Μάρκος καὶ ἀπώλετο τολμήσας τὰ περὶ τῶν δανεισμάτων ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὀρισθέντα, καθάπερ ἡττημένου τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφθαρμένου, λῦσαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ τὴν
- 2 Καμπανίαν ἐκταράξας. οὗτος γὰρ ἔπραξε μὲν² ἀνὰ πρῶτους τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, διδ³ καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη· ὀργισθεῖς δὲ ὅτι τε μὴ ἡστυνόμησεν καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Τρεβώνιος ὁ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ οὐ κληρωτός, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, ἀλλ' αἰρετός ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὴν ἀστυνομίαν προεκρίθη,
- 3 ἡναντιοῦτο πρὸς πάντα τῷ συνάρχοντι καὶ οὐτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων οἱ ποιεῖσθαι ἐπέτρεπεν, οὔτε τὰς δίκας κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Καίσαρος νόμους τελεῖσθαι συνεχώρει, καὶ προσέτι τοῖς ὀφείλουσί τι βοηθήσειν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεδανεικότας καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀλλοτρίων οἰκοῦσι τὸ ἐνοίκιον ἀφή-
- 4 σειν ἐπηγγέλλετο. προσθέμενος δὲ ἐκ τούτου

¹ Καίλιος Xyl., καικίλιος L.

² μὲν added by Bk. following Rk.

³ διδ Bk., διὰ L.

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In this way these measures were voted and ratified. Caesar entered upon the dictatorship at once, although he was outside of Italy, and chose Antony, although he had not yet been praetor, as his master of horse; and the consul proposed the latter's name also, although the augurs very strongly opposed him, declaring that no one might be master of the horse for more than six months. But for this course they brought upon themselves a great deal of ridicule, because, after having decided that the dictator himself should be chosen for a year, contrary to all precedent, they were now splitting hairs about the master of the horse. Marcus Caelius¹ actually lost his life because he dared to set aside the laws established by Caesar regarding loans, assuming that their author had been defeated and had perished, and because as a result he stirred up Rome and Campania. He had been among the foremost in carrying out Caesar's wishes, for which reason he had been appointed praetor; but he became angry because he had not been made praetor urbanus, and because his colleague Trebonius had been preferred before him for this office, not by lot, as had been the custom, but by Caesar's choice. Hence he opposed his colleague in everything and would not let him perform any of the duties devolving upon him. He not only would not consent to his pronouncing judgments according to Caesar's laws, but he also gave notice to such as owed anything that he would assist them against their creditors, and to all who dwelt in other people's houses that he would release them from payment of the rent. Having by this course gained a considerable following, he set

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¹ M. Caelius Rufus.

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συχνούς ἐπῆλθε μετ' αὐτῶν τῷ Τρεβωνίῳ, καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ τὴν τε ἐσθήτα ἡλλάξατο καὶ διέφυγέ σφας ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ. διαμαρτῶν δὲ τούτου νόμον ἰδίᾳ ἐξέθηκε, προῖκά τε πᾶσιν οἰκεῖν διδοὺς καὶ τὰ χρέα¹ ἀποκόπτων.

- 23 Ὁ οὖν Σερουίλιος στρατιώτας τέ τινας ἐς Γαλατίαν κατὰ τύχην παριόντας μετεπέμψατο, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τῇ παρ' αὐτῶν φρουρᾷ συναγαγὼν προέθηκε γνώμην περὶ τῶν παρόντων, καὶ κυρωθέντος μὲν μηδενὸς (δήμαρχοι γὰρ ἐκώλυσαν) συγγραφέντος δὲ τοῦ δόξαντος ἐκέλευσε τοῖς
- 2 ὑπηρέταις καθελεῖν τὰ πινάκια. ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Καίλιος ἐκείνους τε ἀπήλασε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ὑπατον ἐς θόρυβον κατέστησε, συνῆλθον αὖθις φραζάμενοι τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως τῷ Σερουιλίῳ, ὥσπερ ἄνω μοι πολ-
- 3 λάκις περὶ αὐτῆς εἴρηται, παρέδωκαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐκ τούτου τῷ Καίλιῳ ὥς καὶ στρατηγούντι πρᾶξαι ἐφῆκεν, ἀλλὰ τά τε προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ ἄλλῳ τῷ τῶν στρατηγῶν προσέταξε, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τοῦ τε συνεδρίου εἶρξε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καταβοῶντά τι κατέσπασε, τὸν τε
- 24 δίφρον αὐτοῦ συνέτριψεν· ὁ δὲ ὀργὴν μὲν πολλὴν² καθ' ἑκαστον αὐτῶν ἐποιεῖτο, δειδώς δὲ μὴ καὶ κολασθῇ (δύναμιν γὰρ ἀξιόμαχον ἐν τῇ πόλει εἶχεν) ἐς Καμπανίαν πρὸς Μίλωνα νεωτερίζοντά
- 2 τι ἀπᾶραι ἔγνω. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐπειδὴ μόνος τῶν φευγόντων οὐ κατήχθη πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς μὲν βίου δεομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ τιμωρίαν τινὰ δεδιότας, συλλέξας τὴν τε χώραν ἐκακούργει

¹ χρέα Xyl., χρέσσεια L. ² πολλὴν R. Steph., πολὺ L.

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upon Trebonius with their aid and would have slain him, had the other not managed to change his dress and escape in the crowd. After this failure Caelius privately issued a law in which he granted everybody the use of houses free of rent and annulled all debts. B.C. 48

Servilius consequently sent for some soldiers who chanced to be going by on the way to Gaul, and after convening the senate under their protection he proposed a measure in regard to the situation. No action was taken, since the tribunes prevented it, but the sense of the meeting was recorded and Servilius then ordered the court officers to take down the offending tablets. When Caelius drove these men away and even involved the consul himself in a tumult, they convened again, still protected by the soldiers, and entrusted to Servilius the guarding of the city, a procedure concerning which I have often spoken before. After this he would not permit Caelius to do anything in his capacity as praetor, but assigned the duties pertaining to his office to another praetor, debarred him from the senate, dragged him from the rostra while he was delivering some tirade or other, and broke his chair in pieces. Caelius was very angry with him for each of these acts, but since Servilius had a body of troops in town that matched his own, he was afraid that he might be punished, and so decided to set out for Campania to join Milo, who was beginning a rebellion. For Milo, when he alone of the exiles was not restored by Caesar, had come to Italy, where he gathered a large crowd of men, some in want of a livelihood and others who feared

- καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς τε ἄλλαις καὶ τῇ Καπύῃ
 3 προσέβαλλε. πρὸς οὖν τοῦτον ὁ Καίλιος ἀφορ-
 μῆσαι ἐβελήσας ὡς¹ μετ' αὐτοῦ πᾶν ὃ τι δύναίτο
 τὸν Καίσαρα, λυπήσῃ, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ μήτε ἐκ τοῦ
 προφανοῦς ἐκδημῆσαι ἐδύνατο (παρητηρεῖτο γάρ)
 μήτ' αὖ ἐκδρᾶναι ἐτόλμα διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι
 πολλῷ πλείω ἔν τε τῷ σχήματι καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι
 τῷ τῆς στρατηγίας ὣν καταπράξειν ἤλπιζε, τῷ
 τε ὑπάτῳ προσῆλθε καὶ παρητεῖτο αὐτόν, λέγων
 καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπελθεῖν βούλεσθαι.
 4 ὑποτοπήσας οὖν ἐκεῖνος τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ
 ἐπέτρεψε μὲν οἱ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ
 ὅτι πολὺς ἐνέκειτο τό τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄνομα
 ἐπικαλούμενος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπολογίαν δὴ
 ἐπείγεσθαι σκηπτόμενος, συνέπεμψε δὲ αὐτῷ
 25 δῆμαρχόν τινα, ἵν' εἴ τι νεοχμῶσαι τολμήσειε
 κωλυθείη. ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ Καμπανίᾳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ ὃ
 τε Μίλων πταίσας πρὸς τῇ Καπύῃ ἐς τὰ
 Τιφατῖνα² ὄρη κατεπεφεύγει καὶ ὁ Καίλιος οὐκέτι
 περαιτέρω προυχώρει, δείσας ὁ δῆμαρχος οἴκαδε
 2 ἐπαναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν ἠθέλησε. προπυθόμενος οὖν
 ταῦθ' ὁ Σερουίλιος τῷ μὲν Μίλωνι πόλεμον ἐν τῇ
 βουλῇ ἐπήγγειλε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίλιον ὑπομεῖναι
 μὲν ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, μὴ καὶ ταραξῇ τι, ἐκέ-
 λευσεν, οὐ μέντοι διὰ φυλακῆς ἀκριβοῦς ἄτε καὶ
 στρατηγούντα ἐποιήσατο. ἀπέδρα τε οὖν καὶ
 3 πρὸς τὸν Μίλωνα ἠπείγετο. κὰν ἔπραξέ τι
 ταραχῶδες, εἰ ζῶντα αὐτὸν εὐρήκει. νῦν δὲ ἐκ
 τῆς Καμπανίας ἐκπεσόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν Ἀπουλίᾳ
 φθαρέντος, ἔς τε τὴν Βρεττίαν³ ἦλθεν ὡς ἐνταῦθ' αὖ

¹ ὡς Dind., ὥστε L. ² Τιφατῖνα Dind., τιφατρινὰ L.³ Βρεττίαν Xyl., βρεττανίαν L.

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some punishment, and proceeded to ravage the country, assailing Capua and other cities. To him, then, Caelius wished to betake himself, in order that with his aid he might do Caesar all possible harm. He was watched, however, and could not leave the city openly; and he did not venture to escape secretly because, among other reasons, he expected to accomplish a great deal more by using the dress and the title of his praetorship. At last, therefore, he approached the consul and asked him for leave of absence, even saying that he wished to proceed to Caesar. The other, though he suspected his intention, still allowed him to do this, particularly because he was very insistent, invoking Caesar's name and pretending that he was eager to submit his defence; but he sent a tribune with him, so that if he should attempt any rebellious act he might be held in check. When they reached Campania, and found that Milo, after a defeat near Capua, had taken refuge on Mount Tifata, and Caelius gave up his plan of going farther, the tribune was alarmed and wished to bring him back home. Servilius, learning of this in time, declared war upon Milo in the senate and gave orders that Caelius should remain in the suburbs, so that he might not stir up any trouble; nevertheless, he did not keep him under strict surveillance, because the man was a praetor. Thus Caelius made his escape and hastened to Milo, and he would certainly have created some disturbance had he found him alive; but as it was, Milo had been driven from Campania and had perished in Apulia. Caelius, therefore, went to Bruttium, hoping to form some league in

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γέ τι συστήσων, καὶ ἐκεῖ πρὶν ποιῆσαι τι λόγου ἄξιον ἀπώλετο· συστραφέντες γὰρ οἱ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πράττοντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόν.

- 26 Καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπέθανον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἡσυχία παρὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ συνηνέχθη, ὥσπερ που καὶ τὰ τέρατα προεδήλωσεν. ἐκείνῳ τε γὰρ τῷ ἔτει τελευτῶντι ἄλλα τέ τινα συνέβη, καὶ μέλισσαι ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ παρὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἰδρύθησαν.
- 2 καὶ¹ (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἱερὰ Ἰσιδι ἐνταῦθα τότε γιγνόμενα) ἔδοξε γνώμῃ τῶν μάντεων πάντα αὖθις τά τε ἐκείνης καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σαράπιδος τεμνίσματα κατασκάψαι· γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ Ἐννεῖόν τι² λαθὼν σφας προσκαθηρέθη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κεράμια ἀνθρωπείων σαρκῶν μεστὰ
- 3 εὔρέθη. τῷ τε ἐχομένῳ σεισμός τε ἰσχυρὸς ἐγένετο καὶ βύας ὥφθη, κεραυνοὶ τε ἔς τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ ἔς τὸν τῆς Τύχης τῆς δημοσίας καλουμένης ναὸν ἔς τε τοὺς τοῦ Καίσαρος κήπους κατέσκηψαν, κἀνταῦθα ἵππος τις τῶν οὐκ ἡμελη-
- 4 μένων ἀπέθανεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ Τυχαῖον αὐτόματον ἀνέφχθη. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις αἰμά τε ἐξ ἐργαστηρίου σιτοποιοῦ προχυθὲν ἀφίκετο πρὸς νεῶν ἕτερον Τύχης, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ πάντα τά τε ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τὰ κατόπιν καὶ ἐφορᾶν καὶ ἐκλογίζεσθαι χρήναι τινα, μηδὲ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι ἐξ οἴων οἷος ἐγένετο, καὶ ἰδρύσαντο καὶ ἐπέκλεσαν τρόπον τινὰ οὐκ εὐαφήγητον Ἑλλησι·
- 5 καὶ βρέφη τινὰ τὰς ἀριστερὰς ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς χεῖρας ἔχοντα ἐγεννήθη, ὥστε ἕκ τε τῶν ἄλλων

¹ καὶ supplied by Reim.

² Ἐννεῖόν τι R. Steph., ἐνυῖόντι L.

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that district at any rate, and there he perished before accomplishing anything of importance; for those who favoured Caesar banded together and killed him. B. C. 48

So these men died, but that did not bring quiet to Rome. On the contrary, many dreadful events took place, as, indeed, omens had indicated beforehand. Among other things that happened toward the end of that year bees settled on the Capitol beside the statue of Hercules. Sacrifices to Isis chanced to be going on there at the time, and the soothsayers gave their opinion to the effect that all precincts of that goddess and of Serapis should be razed to the ground once more. In the course of their demolition a shrine of Bellona was unwittingly destroyed and in it were found jars full of human flesh. The following year a violent earthquake occurred, an owl was seen, thunderbolts descended upon the Capitol and upon the temple of the Public Fortune, as it was called, and into the gardens of Caesar, where a horse of no small value was destroyed by them, and the temple of Fortune opened of its own accord. In addition to this, blood issued from a bake-shop and flowed to another temple of Fortune—that Fortune whose statue, on account of the fact that a man must needs observe and consider everything that lies before his eyes as well as behind him and must not forget from what beginnings he has become what he is, they had set up and named in a way not easy to describe to Greeks.¹ Also some infants were born holding their left hands to their heads, so that while

¹ The reference is to Fortuna Respiciens. For her many different attributes see Roscher, *Lex. der griech. und rom. Mythologie*, i p. 1513 Plutarch called her *τύχη ἐπιστρεφόμενη*, a name apparently unknown to Dio.

μηδὲν ὑγιὲς ὑποπτεύεσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τούτων μάλιστα τὴν τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων κατὰ τῶν προτετιμημένων ἐπανάστασιν τοὺς τε μάντις προειπεῖν καὶ τὸν δῆμον προσδέχεσθαι.

- 27 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου προδει-
χθέντα ἐτάραττεν αὐτούς· συνεπελάβετο δέ σφισι
τοῦ φόβου καὶ ἡ ὄψις αὐτῇ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δεινῇ
καὶ ἀήθης ἔν τε τῇ νουμηνίᾳ καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ πολὺ
2 γενομένη. ὕπατος μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ στρατηγὸς
οὐδέπω ἦν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀντώνιος τῆς¹ μὲν ἐσθῆτος
ἔνεκα (τῇ γὰρ περιπορφύρῳ ἐχρήτο) καὶ ῥαβδού-
χων (τοὺς γὰρ ἕξ μόνους εἶχε) τοῦ τε τὴν βουλήν
ἀθροίζειν εἰκόνα τινὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας παρείχετο,
τῷ δὲ δὴ ξίφει δ² παρέζωστο καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν
συνόντων οἱ στρατιωτῶν τοῖς τε ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ὅτι
3 μάλιστα τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐνεδείκνυτο· καὶ γὰρ
ἄρπαγαὶ καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ σφαγαὶ πολλαὶ ἐγίγνοντο.
καὶ ἦν οὐ τὸ παρὸν μόνον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις χαλεπώ-
τατον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα πολὺ πλείω
καὶ δεινότερα ὑπωπτεύετο· ὅπου γὰρ ὁ Ἰππαρχος
οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι τὸ ξίφος κατετίθετο (τὰς
γὰρ πλείους ταῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος παρασκευαῖς
4 ἐπετέλεσεν· ὀλίγας γὰρ τινὰς καὶ οἱ δῆμαρχοι
ἐποίησαν), τίς οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν τὸν δικτάτορα
ὑπετόπησεν; εἰ γὰρ τις καὶ τὴν χρηστότητα
αὐτοῦ, ὑφ' ἧς πολλῶν καὶ ἀντιπολεμησάντων οἱ
ἐπέφειστο, ἐνενόει, ἀλλ' οὗτοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων
τούς τε ἐφιεμένους ἀρχῆς καὶ τοὺς καταπράξαν-
τας αὐτὴν μένοντας ἰδόντες καὶ ἐκείνον ἀλλοιω-
28 θήσεσθαι προσεδόκων. ἐλυποῦντό τε οὖν, καὶ

¹ τῆς Turn., οὐδέπω L.

² δ Reim., ῥι L.

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no good was looked for from the other signs, from this especially an uprising of inferiors against superiors was both foretold by the soothsayers and expected by the people. B C 48

These portents, thus revealed by Heaven, disturbed them; and their fear was augmented by the very appearance of the city, which had become strange and unfamiliar at the beginning of the year and continued so for a long time. For there was as yet no consul or praetor, and while Antony, in so far as his costume went, which was the purple-bordered toga, and his lictors, of whom he had only the usual six, and his convening of the senate, furnished some semblance of the republic, yet the sword with which he was girded, and the throng of soldiers that accompanied him, and his very actions in particular indicated the existence of a monarchy. In fact many robberies, outrages, and murders took place. And not only was the existing situation most distressing to the Romans, but they suspected Caesar of intending far more and greater deeds of violence. For when the master of the horse never laid aside his sword even at the festivals, who would not have been suspicious of the dictator himself? Most of these festivals, by the way, Antony gave at Caesar's expense, although the tribunes also gave a few. Even if any one stopped to think of Caesar's goodness, which had led him to spare many enemies, even such as had opposed him in battle, nevertheless, seeing that men who have gained an office do not stick to the principles that guided them when striving for it, they expected that he, too, would change his course. They were distressed, therefore, and discussed the

- πολλὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οἷς γε καὶ ἀσφάλειά τις ἦν, διελάλουν. οὐ γάρ που καὶ πᾶσιν ἀδεῶς συγγίγνεσθαι ἐδύναντο· καὶ γὰρ οἱ πάνυ φίλοι δοκοῦντές¹ τινων εἶναι, συγγενεῖς τε ἕτεροι, διέβαλλόν² σφας, τὰ μὲν παρατρέποντες τὰ δὲ καὶ
- 2 παντάπασι καταψευδόμενοι. ὅθεν οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐκακοπάθουν, ὅτι μήτε προσολοφύρασθαι μήτ' ἐπικοινωνᾶσαι ἔχοντες οὐδ'³ ἀπαλλαγήναι ποτε αὐτοῦ ἐδύναντο. ἡ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοπαθεῖς συνουσία ἔφερε τίνα αὐτοῖς
- 3 κούφισιν, καὶ τις ἀσφαλῶς ἐκλαλήσας τέ τι καὶ ἀντακούσας οἷα ἔπασχον ῥάων ἐγίγνετο· ἡ δὲ δὴ πρὸς τοὺς οὐχ ὁμοήθεις ἀπιστία καθείργνυ τε ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν τὴν ἀνίαν καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον αὐτὰς ἐξέκαε, μήτ' ἀποφυγῇν⁴ μήτ' ἀνάπαυσίν τινα
- 4 λαμβανούσας. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ κατεχόμενα ἔνδον τὰ παθήματά σφας τηρεῖν, καὶ εὐλογεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ θαυμάζειν, ἑορτάζειν τε καὶ βουθυτεῖν εὐθυμείσθαι τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἡναγκάζοντο.
- 29 Οὕτω μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε ὄντες διετίθεντο· ὥσπερ δὲ οὐκ ἀποχρῶν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κακοῦσθαι, Λούκιός τε τις Τρεβέλλιος καὶ Πούπλιος Κορνήλιος Δολοβέλλας δήμαρχοι ἐστασίασαν. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὀφείλουσιν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, διδ⁵ καὶ ἐκ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἐς τὸ πλήθος ἐπὶ τῇ δημαρχίᾳ
- 2 μετέστη, συνηγωνίζετο· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔλεγε μὲν τῶν ἀμεινόνων προίστασθαι,⁶ ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ὁμοίου
- ¹ καὶ γὰρ οἱ πάνυ φίλοι δοκοῦντες Bs., καὶ γὰρ πάνυ φίλοι ἐδόκουν L. ² διέβαλλόν R. Steph., διέβαλον L.
- ³ οὐδ' Pflugk, οὐτ' L.
- ⁴ μήτ' ἀποφυγῇν Cary, μηταποραην L. ⁵ διδ Rk., καὶ διδ L
- ⁶ προίστασθαι H. Steph., προσίστασθαι L.

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matter with one another at length, at least those B.C 48
who were safe in so doing, for they could not be intimate with any and every one with impunity. For those who seemed to be one's very good friends and others who were relatives would slander one, perverting some statements and telling downright lies on other points. And so it was that the rest found herein the chief cause of their distress, that, since they were unable either to lament or to share their views with others, they could not so much as give their feelings vent. For, while it is true that intercourse with those similarly afflicted lightened their burden somewhat, and the man who could safely utter and hear in return something of what the citizens were undergoing felt easier, yet their distrust of such as were not of like habits with themselves confined their vexation within their own hearts and inflamed them the more, as they could obtain neither escape nor relief. Indeed, in addition to having to keep their sufferings shut up within their own breasts, they were compelled to praise and admire their treatment, as also to celebrate festivals, perform sacrifices, and appear happy over it all.

This was the condition of the Romans in the city at that time. And, as if it were not sufficient for them to be abused by Antony, one Lucius Trebellius and Publius Cornelius Dolabella, tribunes, fell to quarrelling. The latter championed the cause of the debtors, to which class he belonged, and had therefore changed from the ranks of the patricians to the plebs, in order to secure the tribuneship. The former claimed to represent the nobles, but issued

- αὐτῷ καὶ γράμματα ἐξετίθει καὶ σφαγαῖς ἐχρήτο.¹ ταραχή τε οὖν καὶ ἐκ τούτων πολλή ἐγένετο, καὶ ὅπλα πολλὰ καὶ πανταχοῦ ἑωράτο, καίτοι τῶν τε βουλευτῶν ἀπαγορευσάντων μηδὲν πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφίξεως καινοτομηθῆναι, καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μηδένα ἐν τῷ ἄστει ιδιώτην ὅπλοφορεῖν.
- 3 καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐσήκουον, ἀλλὰ πάντα δὴ πάντως καὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐποιοῦν, τρίτη στάσις τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας ἐγένετο. ἵνα γὰρ καὶ παρ' αὐτῆς τά τε ὅπλα καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ἣ φθάσας ἐχρήτο, προστεθείσθαι νομισθείη, στρατιώτας τε ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τρέφειν καὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
- 4 δημάρχων ποιεῖσθαι ἔλαβε. καὶ κ τούτου Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐν νόμῳ δὴ τιμὴν πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπεθύμει ἔδρα, Δολοβέλλας δὲ καὶ Τρεβέλλιος ὄνομα μὲν βιαίου πράξεως εἶχον, ἀντηγωνίζοντο δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῆς θρασύτητος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐκείνῳ, ὥσπερ τινὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡγεμονίαν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἰληφότες.
- 30 Κὰν τούτῳ Ἀντώνιος πυθόμενος τὰ στρατόπεδα, ἃ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὥς καὶ ἐφεψόμενός σφισι προέπεμψε,³ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς δρᾶν, καὶ φοβηθεῖς μή τι νεωτερίσῃσι, τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ Λουκίῳ ἐπέτρεψε, πολί-
 αρχον αὐτὸν ἀποδείξας, ὃ μηπώποτε πρὸς ἱπ-
 πάρχου ἐγεγόνει, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας
- 2 ἐξώρμησεν. οἱ οὖν δήμαρχοι οἱ ἀντιστασιάζοντές σφισι τοῦ τε Λουκίου διὰ τὸ γῆρας κατεφρόνησαν, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, μέχρις οὐ τὸν Καῖσαρα τά

¹ ἐχρήτο R. Steph., ἐχρᾶτο L ² ἀπ' Rk., ἐπ' L

³ προέπεμψε R. Steph., προσέπεμψε L.

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edicts and had recourse to murders no less than the other. This, too, naturally resulted in great turmoil and many weapons were everywhere to be seen, although the senators had commanded that no changes should be made before Caesar's arrival, and Antony that no private individual in the city should carry arms. As the tribunes, however, paid no attention to these orders, but resorted to absolutely every sort of measure against each other and against the men just mentioned, a third party arose, consisting of Antony and the senate. For in order to let it be thought that his weapons and the authority that resulted from their possession, an authority which he had already usurped, had been granted by that body, he got the privilege of keeping soldiers within the walls and of helping the other tribunes to guard the city. After this Antony did whatever he desired with a kind of legal right, while Dolabella and Trebellius were nominally guilty of violence; but their effrontery and resources led them to resist both each other and him, as if they too had received some position of command from the senate. D C 48

Meanwhile Antony learned that the legions which Caesar after the battle had sent ahead into Italy, with the intention of following them later, were engaged in questionable proceedings; and fearing that they might begin some rebellion, he turned over the charge of the city to Lucius Caesar, appointing him city prefect, an office never before conferred by a master of the horse, and then set out himself to join the soldiers. The tribunes who were at variance with each other despised Lucius because of his advanced age and inflicted many outrages upon one another

- τε ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ διωκηκότα καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην
 ὠρμηκότα ἐπύθοντο, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 3 ἐξαιρεγάσαντο. ὥς γὰρ οὐκέτ' αὐτοῦ ἐπανήξοντος,
 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ που πρὸς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ὥσπερ που
 ἤκουον, ἀπολουμένου, διεφέροντο. τότε δὲ χρόνον
 μὲν τινα ἐμετρίασαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην
 31 ἐκεῖνος πρότερον ἐπεστράτευσεν, ἐστασίασαν αὐ-
 θις. ὁ οὖν Ἀντώνιος μήτε ἐπισχεῖν αὐτοὺς
 δυνάμενος, καὶ τῷ πλήθει διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν
 Δολοβέλλαν ἐναντίωσιν προσκρούων, τὰ μὲν
 πρῶτα τούτῳ προσέθετο, καὶ τὸν Τρεβέλλιον
 ἄλλα τε ἐπητιᾶτο καὶ ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας σφε-
 2 τερίζοιτο· ἔπειτα δὲ αἰσθόμενος τὸν ὁμίλον ἑαυτοῦ
 μὲν μηδὲν προτιμῶντα τῷ δὲ Δολοβέλλᾳ μόνῳ
 προσκείμενον, ἠχθέσθη καὶ μετεβάλετο,¹ ἄλλως
 τε καὶ ὅτι τῆς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους χάριτος
 οὐκ² ἐκοινώνει οἱ, τῆς δὲ παρὰ τῶν βουλευτῶν
 3 αἰτίας τὸ πλεῖστον μετελάμβανε. καὶ τῷ μὲν
 λόγῳ ἐν μέσῳ ἀμφοῖν ἔστη, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ τὸν
 Τρεβέλλιον κρύφα ἀνθείλετο, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα
 αὐτῷ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ στρατιώτας λαβεῖν ἐπέτρε-
 ψεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν θεατῆς ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης
 αὐτῶν ἐγίγνετο, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο, καὶ τῆς
 τε πόλεως τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα ἀντικατελάμβανον
 καὶ φόνους τε καὶ ἐμπρήσεις³ ἐποίουν, ὥστε
 καὶ τὰ ἱερά ποτε ἐκ τοῦ Ἑστιαίου ὑπὸ τῶν
 32 ὑειπαρθένων ἐκκομισθῆναι. αὐθὶς τε οὖν φυ-
 λακὴν οἱ βουλευταὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀκριβεστέραν

¹ μετεβάλετο Bk, μετεβάλλετο L.² οὐκ supplied by Reim.³ ἐμπρήσεις R. Steph., ἐμπρήσεις τε L

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and upon the rest, until they learned that Caesar B C 48 having settled affairs in Egypt, had set out for Rome. For they were carrying on their quarrel upon the assumption that he would never return again but would of course perish there at the hands of the Egyptians, as, indeed, they kept hearing was the case. When, however, his coming was reported, they moderated their conduct for a time; but as soon as he set out against Pharnaces first, they fell to quarrelling once more. Accordingly Antony, seeing that he was unable to restrain them and that his opposition to Dolabella was obnoxious to the populace, at first joined himself to that tribune and brought various charges against Trebellius, among them one to the effect that he was appropriating the soldiers to his own use. Later, when he perceived that he himself was not held in any esteem by the multitude, which was attached only to Dolabella, he became vexed and changed sides, the more so because, while not sharing with the plebeian leader the favour of the people, he nevertheless received the greatest share of blame from the senators. So nominally he adopted a neutral attitude toward the two, but in fact secretly preferred the cause of Trebellius, and cooperated with him in various ways, particularly by allowing him to obtain soldiers. Thenceforward he became merely a spectator and director of their contest, while they fought, seized in turn the most advantageous points in the city, and entered upon a career of murder and arson, to such an extent that on one occasion the holy vessels were carried by the virgins out of the temple of Vesta. So the senators once more voted that the master of the horse should keep the

- τῷ ἱππάρχῳ ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἅπαντα
 2 ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡ πόλις ἐπληρώθη. οὐ μέντοι καὶ
 παῦλά τις ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ Δολοβέλλας ἀπογνοὺς
 συγγνώμης τινὸς παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τεύξεσθαι,¹
 μέγα τι κακὸν ἐπεθύμει δράσας ἀπολέσθαι ὡς καὶ
 ὄνομα ἐκ τούτου ἐς αἰὲ στήσων· ἤδη γάρ τινες
 καὶ τῶν κακίστων ἔργων ἔρασταί ἐπὶ τῇ φήμῃ
 γίνονται. ὑφ' οὐπερ καὶ ἐκείνος τά τε ἄλλα
 ἐτάραττε, καὶ τοὺς νόμους, τὸν τε περὶ τῶν χρῶν
 καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἐνοικίων, ἐν ῥητῇ τινι ἡμέρᾳ
 3 θήσειν ὑπέσχετο. ὡς οὖν τοῦτό τε προεπήγ-
 γελτο² καὶ ὁ ὄχλος τά τε περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν
 ἀποφράξας καὶ πύργους ἔστιν ἢ ξυλίνους ἐπι-
 καταστήσας³ ἑτοιμος παντὶ τῷ ἐναντιωθησομένῳ
 σφίσιν ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἐγένετο, ἐνταῦθ' ὁ Ἀυτώνιος
 στρατιώτας ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πολλοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Κα-
 πιτωλίου καταγαγὼν τὰς τε σανίδας τῶν νόμων
 κατέκοψε, καὶ τινὰς καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ταραχώδεις
 ἀπ' ⁴ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατεκρήμνισεν.
 33 Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπαύσαντο διὰ τοῦτο⁵ στασιάζ-
 ζοντες, ἀλλ' ὅσῳ πλείους αὐτῶν ἀπώλλυντο, τόσῳ
 μᾶλλον οἱ περιλιπεῖς ἐθορύβουν, νομίζοντες τὸν
 Καίσαρα μεγίστῳ τε καὶ δυσχερεστάτῳ πολέμῳ
 συμπεπλέχθαι. οὐδὲ ἐπέσχον πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐκείνον
 2 ἐξαπιναιῶς σφίσιν ὀφθῆναι. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἄκοντες
 ἡσύχασαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πᾶν ὃ τι ποτὲ ἐνεδέχετο
 πείσεσθαι προσεδόκων, λόγος τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς κατὰ
 πᾶσαν ὁμοίως τὴν πόλιν ἦν,⁶ τῶν μὲν τά, τῶν δὲ τὰ

¹ τεύξεσθαι Reim, τεύξασθαι L² προεπήγγελτο Bk., προεπηγγέλλετο L³ ἐπικαταστήσας Rk., ἀποκαταστήσας L.⁴ ἀπ' Rk., ἐπ' L⁵ τοῦτο R. Steph., τούτου L.⁶ ἦν supplied by Xyl.

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city under stricter guard, and practically the whole B.C. 48 city was filled with soldiers. Yet there was no respite. For Dolabella, in despair of obtaining any pardon from Caesar, desired to accomplish some terrible deed before perishing, hoping thus to gain lasting renown; thus there are actually some men who become infatuated with the basest deeds for the sake of fame! From this motive he, too, caused confusion generally, even promising that on a certain specified day he would enact his laws in regard to debts and house-rents. On receipt of these announcements the crowd erected barricades round the Forum, setting up wooden towers at some points, and put itself in readiness to cope with any force that might oppose it. At that, Antony led down from the Capitol at dawn a large body of soldiers, cut down the tablets containing Dolabella's laws and afterwards hurled some of the disturbers from the very cliffs of the Capitoline.

However, even this did not stop their quarrelling. Instead, the greater the number of those who perished, the greater disturbance did the survivors make, thinking that Caesar had become involved in a very great and difficult war. And they did not cease until he himself suddenly appeared before them; then they reluctantly quieted down. They were expecting to suffer every conceivable ill fate, and there was talk about them all through the city, some judging one way and others another; but

- δικαιούντων· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τῷ συνήθει οἱ
τρόπῳ καὶ τότε ἐχρήσατο. τῇ τε γὰρ παρούσῃ
αὐτῶν καταστάσει ἠρκέσθη, καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν προ-
γενομένων ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν, ἀλλὰ πάντων τε
ἐφείσατο καὶ τινας αὐτῶν καὶ ἐτίμησεν, ἄλλους
3 τε καὶ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν. εὐεργεσίαν γάρ τινα αὐτῷ
ὀφείλων οὐκ ἠξίωσεν αὐτῆς ἐκλαθέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ
ὅτι ἡδίκηθη, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνης ὀλιγώρησεν,
ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν εὖ ἐπεπόνθει, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ οἱ συνέγνω,
καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτὸν ἐν τιμῇ ἤγαγεν, καὶ ὕπατον
οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον μηδὲ στρατηγήσαντα ἀπέδειξε.
- 34 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Καί-
σαρος ἀπουσίαν ἐγένετο· χρόνιος δὲ ἐπ' αὐτήν,
καὶ οὐκ εὐθύς ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου θανάτῳ,
ἦλθε διὰ τάδε. οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ταῖς τῶν χρημάτων
ἐσπράξεσι βαρυνόμενοι, καὶ δεινῶς φέροντες ὅτι
2 μηδὲ τῶν ιερῶν τις ἀπείχετο (θρησκευοῦσί τε γὰρ
πολλὰ περισσότατα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πολέμους
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἅτε μὴ καθ' ἐν
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντιωτάτου καὶ αὐτοῖς¹ τι-
μῶντές τινα, ἀναιροῦνται), τούτοις τε οὖν ἀγα-
νακτήσαντες, καὶ προσέτι φοβηθέντες μὴ τῇ
Κλεοπάτρᾳ ἅτε μέγα παρὰ τῷ Καίσαρι δυναμένη
3 παραδοθῶσιν, ἐταράχθησαν. ἐκείνη τε γὰρ τέως
μὲν δι' ἐτέρων παρ' αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν
ἐδικάζετο, ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς τάχιστα τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ
κατέμαθεν (ἦν γὰρ ἐρωτικώτατος, καὶ πλείσταις
καὶ ἄλλαις, ὅσαις που περιτύχοι, συνεγίγνετο),

¹ αὐτοῖς R. Steph., αὐτοῖς L.

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Caesar even at this juncture followed his usual practice. Accepting their attitude of the moment as satisfactory and not concerning himself with their past conduct, he spared them all, and even honoured some of them, including Dolabella. For he owed the latter some kindness, which he did not see fit to forget; in other words, in place of overlooking that favour because he had been wronged, he pardoned him in consideration of the benefit he had received, and besides honouring him in other ways he not long afterward appointed him consul, though he had not even served as praetor. B.C 48

These were the events which occurred in Rome during Caesar's absence. Now the reasons why he was so long in coming there and did not arrive immediately after Pompey's death were as follows. The Egyptians were discontented at the levies of money and indignant because not even their temples were left untouched. For they are the most religious people on earth in many respects and wage wars even against one another on account of their beliefs, since they are not all agreed in their worship, but are diametrically opposed to each other in some matters. As a result, then, of their vexation at this and, further, of their fear that they might be surrendered to Cleopatra, who had great influence with Caesar, they began a disturbance. Cleopatra, it seems, had at first urged with Caesar her claim against her brother by means of agents, but as soon as she discovered his disposition (which was very susceptible, to such an extent that he had his intrigues with ever so many other women—with all, doubtless, who chanced to come in his way) she sent

- πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν¹ προδίδοσθαι τε ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων λέγουσα καὶ ἀξιούσα αὐτὴ δι' ἑαυτῆς
- 4 ἀγωνίσασθαι. ἄλλως τε γὰρ περικαλλεστάτη γυναικῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τότε τῇ τῆς ὥρας ἀκμῇ πολὺν διέπρεπε, τό τε φθέγμα ἀστείότατον εἶχε,
- 5 καὶ προσομιλῆσαι παντὶ τῷ διὰ χαρίτων ἡπίστατο, ὥστε λαμπρά τε ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀκουσθῆναι οὔσα, καὶ τούτου πάντα τινὰ καὶ δυσέρωτα καὶ ἀφηλικέστερον ἐξεργάσασθαι δυναμένη, πρὸς τρόπον τε ἐνόμισε τῷ Καίσαρι ἐντεύξεσθαι, καὶ
- 6 πάντα ἐν τῷ κάλλει τὰ δικαιώματα ἔθετο. ἡτήσατό τε οὖν ἐς ὄψιν αὐτοῦ ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τυχοῦσα κατεκόσμησέ τε ἑαυτὴν καὶ ἐξήσκησεν ὥστε σεμνοπρεπεστάτη καὶ οἰκτροτάτη αὐτῷ ὀφθῆναι. καὶ ἡ μὲν ταῦτα μηχανησαμένη ἐς τε τὴν πόλιν ἅμα (ἔξω γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνης ἦν) καὶ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια
- 35 λάθρα τοῦ Πτολεμαίου νυκτὸς ἐσήλθεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ ἰδὼν τε αὐτὴν καὶ τι φθεγξαμένης ἀκούσας οὕτως εὐθὺς ἐδουλώθη ὥστε αὐτίκα ὑπὸ τε τὴν ἑω τὸν τε Πτολεμαῖον μεταπέμψασθαι καὶ συναλλάξαι σφᾶς ἐπιχειρήσαι· ἥς γὰρ δικαστῆς πρότερον ἡξιούτο εἶναι, τότε ταύτῃ συνεδίδκει.
- 2 ὁ οὖν παῖς, διὰ τε τοῦτο καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἀδελφὴν αἰφνιδίως εἶδεν ἔνδον οὔσαν, ὀργῆς τε ἐπληρώθη, καὶ ἐκπηδήσας ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐβόα λέγων προδίδοσθαι, καὶ τέλος τὸ διάδημα ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς περισπάσας ἔρριψε. θορύβου δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μεγάλου συμβάντος ἐκείνων μὲν οἱ Καισάρειοι στρατιῶται συνήρπασαν, τὸ δὲ δὴ Αἰγύπτιον
- 3 ἐταράττετο· καὶ αὐτοβοεῖ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ ἐκ

¹ αὐτὸν Leuncl., αὐτὸν καὶ L.

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word to him that she was being betrayed by her friends and asked that she be allowed to plead her case in person. For she was a woman of surpassing beauty, and at that time, when she was in the prime of her youth, she was most striking; she also possessed a most charming voice and a knowledge of how to make herself agreeable to every one. Being brilliant to look upon and to listen to, with the power to subjugate every one, even a love-sated man already past his prime, she thought that it would be in keeping with her rôle to meet Caesar, and she reposed in her beauty all her claims to the throne. She asked therefore for admission to his presence, and on obtaining permission adorned and beautified herself so as to appear before him in the most majestic and at the same time pity-inspiring guise. When she had perfected her schemes she entered the city (for she had been living outside of it), and by night without Ptolemy's knowledge went into the palace. Caesar, upon seeing her and hearing her speak a few words was forthwith so completely captivated that he at once, before dawn, sent for Ptolemy and tried to reconcile them, thus acting as advocate for the very woman whose judge he had previously assumed to be. For this reason, and because the sight of his sister within the palace was so unexpected, the boy was filled with wrath and rushed out among the people crying out that he was being betrayed, and at last he tore the diadem from his head and cast it away. In the great tumult which thereupon arose Caesar's troops seized the person of the prince and the Egyptian populace continued to be in an uproar. They assaulted

nc 48

- τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἅμα προσβαλόντες¹
 εἶλον (τοῖς γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲν ἀξιόμαχον, ἅτε
 καὶ φίλων σφῶν δοκούντων εἶναι, παρῆν), εἰ μὴ
 φοβηθεὶς ὁ Καῖσαρ προῆλθέ τε ἐς αὐτούς, καὶ ἐν
 τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ στὰς πάντα σφίσιν, ὅσα ἂν ἐβελή-
 4 σωσι, πράξειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς
 ἐκκλησίαν ἐσελθὼν τὸν τε Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τὴν
 Κλεοπάτραν παρεστήσατο, καὶ τὰς διαθήκας τοῦ
 πατρὸς αὐτῶν ἀνέγνω, ἐν αἷς ἐκείνους μὲν συνοικῆ-
 σαί τε ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
 πάτρια καὶ βασιλεύειν ἅμα,² τὸν δὲ δὴ τῶν Ῥω-
 5 μαίων δῆμον τὴν ἐπιτροπείαν σφῶν ἔχειν ἐγγέ-
 γραπτο. πράξας δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ ἐπειπὼν ὅτι
 ἑαυτῷ, δικτάτορι ὄντι καὶ πᾶν τὸ τοῦ δήμου
 κράτος ἔχοντι, τὴν τε ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν παίδων
 ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶν ἐπι-
 τελεῖν προσήκει, ἐκείνοις τε τὴν βασιλείαν ἀμφο-
 τέροις ἔδωκε, καὶ τῇ Ἀρσινόῃ τῷ τε Πτολεμαίῳ
 τῷ νεωτέρῳ, τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς σφῶν, Κύπρον ἐχαρί-
 6 σατο. τοσοῦτον γάρ που δέος αὐτὸν ἔσχευ ὥστε
 μὴ μόνον μηδὲν τῶν τῆς Αἰγύπτου προσλαβεῖν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκείων τι αὐτοῖς προσδοῦναι.
- 36 Τότε μὲν οὕτως ἐπαύσαντο, αὐθις δὲ οὐ
 πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐκινήθησαν ὥστε καὶ πολεμή-
 σαι. ὁ γὰρ Ποθεινὸς ὁ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν τοῦ
 Πτολεμαίου χρημάτων προστεταγμένος (εὐνοῦχος
 δὲ ἦν καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐν τοῖς μάλλιστα
 2 συνετεταράχει), δείσας μὴ καὶ δίκην ποτὲ ἐπὶ
 τούτῳ δῶ, πέμπει κρύφα πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλᾶν
 περὶ τὸ Πηλουσίον ἔτι καὶ τότε ὄντα, καὶ αὐτὸν

¹ προσβαλόντες cod. Peir., προσβάλλοντες L.² ἅμα Rk., ἀλλὰ L.

BOOK XLII

the palace by land and sea at the same time and might have taken it without a blow, since the Romans had no adequate force present, owing to the apparent friendship of the natives; but Caesar in alarm came out before them, and standing in a safe place, promised to do for them whatever they wished. Afterward he entered an assembly of theirs, and producing Ptolemy and Cleopatra, read their father's will, in which it was directed that they should live together according to the custom of the Egyptians and rule in common, and that the Roman people should exercise a guardianship over them. When he had done this and had added that it belonged to him as dictator, holding all the power of the people, to have an oversight of the children and to fulfil their father's wishes, he bestowed the kingdom upon them both and granted Cyprus to Arsinoe and Ptolemy the Younger, a sister and a brother of theirs. For so great fear possessed him, it would seem, that he not only laid hold on none of the Egyptian domain, but actually gave them some of his own besides.

By this action they were temporarily calmed, but not long afterward were roused even to the point of making war. For Pothinus, a eunuch who was charged with the management of Ptolemy's funds and who had taken a leading part in stirring up the Egyptians, became afraid that he might some time have to pay the penalty for his conduct, and he accordingly sent secretly to Achilles, who was still at this time near Pelusium, and by frightening him and

- ἐκφοβήσας τε ἅμα καὶ ἐπελπίσας προσηταιρί-
 σατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς
 3 τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοντας ὤκειώσατο. πᾶσί τε γὰρ
 ὁμοίως δεινὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἄρχεσθαι,
 ὑποψία τοῦ τὸν Καίσαρα τότε μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ
 καταστάσει σφῶν ἀμφοτέροις δῆθεν αὐτοῖς τὴν
 βασιλείαν δεδωκέναι, προιόντος δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου
 4 μόνῃ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ αὐτὴν προσθήσειν· καὶ
 ἀντίπαλοι τῷ τότε παρόντι αὐτοῦ στρατῷ
 ἐνόμιζον εἶναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάν-
 37 δρειαν εὐθὺς ἄραντες ἤλασαν.¹ πυνθόμενος δὲ
 τοῦτο ὁ Καίσαρ, καὶ καταδείσας τό τε πλῆθος
 αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς τόλμας, ἔπεμψέ τινας πρὸς τὸν
 Ἀχιλλᾶν, οὗτι γε τῷ αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ τῷ τοῦ
 Πτολεμαίου ὀνόματι, κελεύοντος αὐτῷ τὴν ἡσυ-
 χίαν ἄγειν. καὶ ὃς συνιείς ὅτι οὐ τοῦ παιδὸς
 ἀλλ' ἐκείνου ἡ πρόσταξις ἦν, οὐχ ὅπως οὐκ
 2 ἐπήκουσεν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσκαταφρονήσας
 ὡς καὶ φοβουμένου τοὺς τε στρατιώτας συνήγαγε,
 καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πολλὰ δὲ
 καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῆς τε Κλεοπάτρας
 εἰπών, τέλος καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πεμφθέντας καίπερ
 Αἰγυπτίους ὄντας παρώξυνεν αὐτούς, ὅπως τοῦ
 τε φόνου σφῶν ἀναπλησθῶσι καὶ ἐς ἀνάγκην
 3 ἀσπείστου πολέμου καταστῶσι. μαθὼν οὖν
 ταῦτα ὁ Καίσαρ τοὺς τε ἐκ τῆς Συρίας στρατιώ-
 τας μετεπέμψατο, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τὰ τε ἄλλα
 τὰ πλησίον αὐτῶν οἰκοδομήματα διετάφρυνε
 38 καὶ ἀπετείχισε μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης. καὶν τούτῳ
 καὶ ὁ Ἀχιλλᾶς μετὰ τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ μετὰ
 τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαβινίου σὺν τῷ

¹ ἤλασαν Wakefield, ἤμνον L.

BOOK XLII

at the same time inspiring him with hopes he made him his associate, and next won over also all the rest who bore arms. To all of them alike it seemed a shame to be ruled by a woman—for they suspected that Caesar on the occasion mentioned had given the kingdom ostensibly to both the children merely to quiet the people, and that in the course of time he would offer it to Cleopatra alone—and they thought themselves a match for the army he then had present. So they set out at once and proceeded toward Alexandria. Caesar, learning of this and feeling afraid of their numbers and daring, sent some men to Achilles, not in his own, but in Ptolemy's name, bidding him keep the peace. Achilles, however, realizing that this was not the boy's command, but Caesar's, so far from giving it any attention, was filled with contempt for the sender, believing him afraid. So he called his soldiers together and by haranguing them at length in favour of Ptolemy and against Caesar and Cleopatra he finally roused their anger against the messengers, though these were Egyptians, so that they should defile themselves with their murder and thus be forced into a relentless war. Caesar, apprised of this, summoned his soldiers from Syria and fortified the palace and the other buildings near it by a moat and wall reaching to the sea. Meanwhile Achilles arrived with the Romans and the others who had been left behind with Septimius

B.C. 43

- Σεπτιμίῳ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου φρουρὰν καταλειφθέντων ἐπελθὼν (ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τῆς ἐκεῖ διατριβῆς καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἐς τὸ ἐπιχώριον μετεβεβλήκεσαν) τῶν τε Ἀλεξανδρέων τὸ πλεῖστον εὐθὺς προσεποιήσατο καὶ τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα
- 2 ἐκρατύνατο. καὶ τούτου πολλοὶ μὲν μάχαι καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνοντο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κατεπίμπρατο,¹ ὥστε ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ νεώριον τὰς τε ἀποθήκας καὶ τοῦ σίτου καὶ τῶν βίβλων, πλείστων δὲ καὶ ἀρίστων, ὥς φασι, γενομένων, καυθῆναι. ἐκράτει δὲ τῆς μὲν ἡπείρου ὁ Ἀχιλλᾶς, χωρὶς ὧν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνετετείχιστο, τῆς δὲ δὴ θαλάσσης ἐκείνος, ἀνευ
- 3 τοῦ λιμένος. καὶ ναυμαχία τε ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ διὰ τοῦτο φοβηθέντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι μὴ ἐς τὸν λιμένα σφῶν ἐπесπλεύσῃ, τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ πλην βραχέος ἔχωσαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνο προσ-
 ἀπέφραξεν, ὁλκάδας λίθων πλήρεις καταπον-
 τώσας,² ὥστ' αὐτοὺς μηδ' εἰ πάνυ τι βούλουτο
- 4 ἐκπλεῦσαι, δυνηθῆναί ποί ἀπάραι. ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο ῥᾶον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐπήγετο· τὴν γὰρ αὐτόθεν ὑδρεῖαν ὁ Ἀχιλλᾶς σφας ἀφῆρητο,³ τοὺς ὀχετοὺς διακόνψας.
- 39 Τούτων δὲ οὕτω πραττομένων Γανυμήδης τις εὐνοῦχος τὴν Ἀρσινόην οὐ πάνυ φρουρουμένην ἐς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὑπεξήγαγε· καὶ ταύτην ἐκεῖνοι βασιλῖδα ἀποδείξαντες προθυμότερον τοῦ πολέμου, ὥς καὶ προστάτιν τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Πτολε-
 2 μαίων γένους ἔχοντες, ἀντελάβοντο. ὁ οὖν

¹ κατεπίμπρατο St., κατεπίμπραντο L.² καταποντώσας Bk., προσκαταποντώσας L.³ ἀφῆρητο R. Steph., ἀφῆλετο L.

BOOK XLII

by Gabinius to keep guard over Ptolemy; for these troops as a result of their stay there had changed their habits and had adopted those of the natives. And he immediately won over the larger part of the Alexandrines and made himself master of the most advantageous positions. After this many battles occurred between the two forces both by day and by night, and many places were set on fire, with the result that the docks and the storehouses of grain among other buildings were burned, and also the library, whose volumes, it is said, were of the greatest number and excellence. Achilles was in possession of the mainland, with the exception of what Caesar had walled off, and the latter of the sea except the harbour. Caesar, indeed, was victorious in a sea-fight, and when the Egyptians, consequently, fearing that he would sail into their harbour, had blocked up the entrance with the exception of a narrow passage, he cut off that outlet also by sinking freight ships loaded with stones; so they were unable to stir, no matter how much they might desire to sail out. After this achievement provisions, and water in particular, were brought in more easily; for Achilles had deprived them of the local water-supply by cutting the pipes

B.C. 48

While these events were taking place, one Ganymedes, a eunuch, secretly brought Arsinoë to the Egyptians, as she was not very well guarded. They declared her queen and proceeded to prosecute the war more vigorously, inasmuch as they now had as leader a representative of the family of the

- Καῖσαρ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ὁ Ποθεινὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐκκλέψῃ, τὸν μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν δὲ οὐκέτ' ἐπικρυσπτόμενος ἀκριβῶς ἐφρούρει. παροξυνθέντων δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ ἐκείνοις μὲν πλειόνων αἰὲ προσγιγνομένων, τοῖς δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαίοις μηδέπω τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας παρόντων, ἐς φιλίαν αὐτοὺς
- 3 ὑπαγαγέσθαι ἠθέλησε, καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἀναβιβάσας πον, ὅθεν ἐξακουσθήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν, εἰπεῖν σφισιν ἐκέλευσεν ὅτι οὔτε τι κακὸν ἔχοι οὔτε πολεμεῖν δέοιτο· πρὸς τε τὰς σπονδὰς αὐτοὺς παρεκάλει, καὶ προσυπισχνεῖτο διαπρά-
- 4 ξειν αὐτάς. καὶ εἶγε ἐκὼν ταῦτα οὕτω διείλεκτο, ἔπεισεν ἄν σφας καταλύσασθαι· νῦν δ' ὑποτοπήσαντες αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κατεσκευάσθαι οὐκ ἐνέδοσαν.
- 40 Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου στάσις τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἀρσινόην οὖσιν ἐνέπεσε, καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Γανυμήδης ἔπεισε τὸν Ἀχιλλᾶν ὥς καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν προδώσοντα¹ ἀποκτεῖναι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου τὴν τε ἡγεμονίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν παρέλαβε, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ὅσα ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ
- 2 ἦν συνήγαγεν, ἄλλα τε προσκατεσκεύασε, καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν διὰ τῶν διωρύχων κομίσας τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις μὴ προσδεχομένοις προσέβαλε, καὶ τὰς μὲν κατέπρησε τῶν ὀλκάδων αὐτῶν τὰς δὲ ἀνεδήσατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν τε ἔσπλουν τοῦ λιμένος ἐξεκάθηρε, κάνταῦθα
- 3 ναυλοχῶν² πολλά σφας ἐλύπει. τηρήσας οὖν ποτε αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀμελῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατεῖν

¹ προδώσοιτα Reim., προδοῦσαν L.

² ναυλοχῶν Xyl., ναυλομαχῶν L.

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Ptolemies. Caesar, therefore, in fear that Pothinus B C 48 might kidnap Ptolemy, put the former to death and guarded the latter strictly without any further dissimulation. This served still more to incense the Egyptians, to whose party numbers were being added continually, whereas the Roman soldiers from Syria were not yet present. Caesar was therefore anxious to win the people's friendship, and so he led Ptolemy up to a place from which they could hear his voice, and then bade him say to them that he was unharmed and did not desire war; and he urged them toward peace, and moreover promised to arrange it for them. Now if he had talked to them thus of his own accord, he might have persuaded them to become reconciled; but as it was, they suspected that it was all prearranged by Caesar, and so did not yield.

As time went on a dispute arose among the followers of Arsinoe, and Ganymedes prevailed upon her to put Achilles to death, on the ground that he was going to betray the fleet. When this had been done, he assumed command of the soldiers and gathered all the boats that were in the river and the lake, besides constructing others; and he conveyed them all through the canals to the sea, where he attacked the Romans while off their guard, burned some of their freight ships to the water's edge and towed others away. Then he cleared out the entrance to the harbour and by lying in wait for vessels there he caused the Romans great annoyance. So Caesar, having waited for a time when they were acting carelessly by reason of their success, suddenly

ἔχοντας ἕς τε τὸν λιμένα αἰφνιδίως ἐπεσέπλευσε,
 καὶ συχνὰ πλοῖα καύσας ἕς τε τὴν Φάρον ἀπέβη
 καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐφόνευσεν. ἰδόντες
 δὲ τοῦτο οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Αἰγύπτιοι κατὰ τε
 τὰς γεφύρας ἐπεβοήθησαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συχνοὺς
 τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνταποκτείναντες τοὺς λοιποὺς
 4 ἕς τὰς ναῦς ἐσήραξαν. καὶ αὐτῶν ὅπουδήποτε
 καὶ ἀθρόως ἐσβιαζομένων ἐς αὐτὰς ἄλλοι τε
 πολλοὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξέπεσον καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ.
 κὰν διέφθαρτο κακῶς, ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἱματίων
 βαρυνόμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βαλλόμενος
 (ἄλουργῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὄντων ἐστοχάζοντο), εἰ
 μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα ὑπερρίφει καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο διανεύ-
 5 σας πῃ ἕς ἀκάτιον ἐσεβεβήκει. καὶ ὁ μὲν
 οὕτως ἐσώθη, μηδὲν τῶν γραμμάτων βρέξας ἃ
 πολλὰ ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ ἀνέχων ἐνήξατο· τὴν
 δὲ δὴ ἐσθῆτα αὐτοῦ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι λαβόντες πρὸς τὸ
 τρόπαιον, ὃ ἔστησαν τῆς τροπῆς ταύτης, ἀνεκρέ-
 μασαν ὥς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἡρηκότες. καὶ ἤδη
 γὰρ καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἃ ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας μετεπέ-
 πεμπτο¹ ἐπλησίασε, τὰς τε κατάρσεις ἐτήρουν
 6 καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοὺς ἔβλαπτον. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ²
 πρὸς τὴν Λιβύην σφῶν προσπίπτουσιν ὁ Καῖσαρ
 τρόπον τινὰ ἤμυνε· συχνοὺς δὲ δὴ περὶ τὰς τοῦ
 Νείλου ἐκβολὰς πυρσοῖς ὥς καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ὄντες
 ἡπάτων τε καὶ συνελάμβανον, ὥστε τοὺς
 λοιποὺς μηκέτι τολμᾶν παρακομίζεσθαι, μέχρις
 οὗ Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Νέρων ἐς αὐτὸν τότε τὸν
 ποταμὸν ἀναπλεύσας ἐκείνους τε μάχῃ ἐκράτησε
 καὶ τοῖς σφετέροις ἀδεέστερον τὸν πρόσπλου
 ἐποίησε.

¹ μετεπέπεμπτο Dind., μετεπέμπετο L. ² γὰρ supplied by Rk.

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sailed into the harbour, burned a large number of vessels, and disembarking on Pharos, slew the inhabitants of the island. When the Egyptians on the mainland saw this, they rushed over the bridges to the aid of their friends, and after killing many of the Romans in turn drove the remainder back to the ships. While the fugitives were forcing their way into these in crowds anywhere they could, Caesar and many others fell into the sea. He would have perished miserably, being weighted down by his robes and pelted by the Egyptians (for his garments, being of purple, offered a good mark), had he not thrown off his clothing and then succeeded in swimming out to where a skiff lay, which he boarded. In this way he was saved, and that, too, without wetting one of the documents of which he held up a large number in his left hand as he swam. The Egyptians took his clothing and hung it upon the trophy which they set up to commemorate this rout, just as if they had captured him himself. They also kept a close watch upon the landings, since the legions which had been sent for from Syria were already drawing near, and were doing the Romans much injury. For while Caesar could defend in a fashion those of them who came ashore on the Libyan side, yet near the mouth of the Nile the Egyptians deceived many of his men by means of signal fires, as if they too were Romans, and thus captured them, so that the rest no longer ventured to come to land, until Tiberius Claudius Nero at this time sailed up the river itself, conquered the foe in battle, and made it safer for his followers to come to land.

B.C. 49

- 41 Κὰν τούτῳ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ἐπικληθεὶς ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ἐς τὸ στόμα τοῦ Νεῖλου τὸ κατὰ Πηλούσιον ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀναβῆναι, ἀποφραζάντων δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τοῖς πλοίοις τὸν ἔσπλουν προσεκομίσθη νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν διώρυχα,
- 2 καὶ ναὺς ἐς αὐτὴν ὑπερενεγκὼν (οὐ γὰρ ἐξίησιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν) οὕτω διὰ ταύτης ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον ἀνέπλευσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο αἰφνίδιον ἔκ τε τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἅμα τοῖς φρουροῦσι τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ προσμίξας τὴν τε ἀποκλείσιν¹
- 3 σφῶν ἔλυσε, καὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον τῷ τε πεζῷ ἅμα καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ προσβαλὼν εἴλε. προχωρῶν τε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, καὶ πυθόμενος Διοσκουρίδην τινὰ ἀπαντήσκειν σφίσιν, ἐνήδρευσέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ κατειργάσατο.
- 42 Αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν μὲν² πόλεμον οὐδ' ὥς κατελύσαντο, ἀχθесθέντες³ δὲ τῇ τοῦ εὐνούχου καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρχῇ, καὶ νομίσαντες, ἂν τὸν Πτολεμαῖον προστήσωνται,
- 2 καθυπέρτεροι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔσεσθαι, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ οὐδένα τρόπον ἐξαρπάσαι αὐτὸν ἠδυνήθησαν (δεινῶς γὰρ ἐφυλάσσετο), ἐπλάσαντο ταῖς τε συμφοραῖς πεπονήσθαι καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμεῖν, καὶ ἔπεμψαν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπικηρυκευόμενοί τε καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον αἰτοῦντες, ὅπως δὴ σὺν αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν, ἐφ' οἷς γενήσονται,
- 3 βουλευσονται. ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ ἐνόμισε μὲν καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτοὺς μεταβεβλήσθαι (ἄλλως τε γὰρ καὶ δειλοὺς καὶ ὀξυρρόπους ὄντας ἤκουε, καὶ τότε

¹ ἀποκλείσιν R. Steph., ἀπόκλεισιν L.

² μὲν supplied by Bk.

³ ἀχθесθέντες R. Steph., ἀχθέντες L.

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Thereupon Mithridates, called the Pergamenian, B. C. 47
undertook to go up with his ships into the mouth of the Nile opposite Pelusium ; but when the Egyptians barred his entrance with their vessels, he betook himself by night to the canal, hauled the ships over into it, since it does not empty into the sea, and through it sailed up into the Nile. After that he suddenly attacked, from both sea and river at once, those who were guarding the mouth of the river, and thus breaking up their blockade, he assaulted Pelusium with his infantry and his fleet simultaneously and captured it. Advancing then toward Alexandria, and learning that a certain Dioscorides was coming to confront them, he ambushed and destroyed him.

But the Egyptians on receiving the news would not end the war even then ; yet they were irritated at the rule of the eunuch and of the woman and thought that if they could put Ptolemy at their head they would be superior to the Romans. So then, finding themselves unable to seize him in any way, inasmuch as he was skilfully guarded, they pretended that they were worn out by their disasters and desired peace ; and they sent to Caesar, making overtures and asking for Ptolemy, in order, as they claimed, that they might consult with him about the terms on which a truce could be effected. Now Caesar believed that they had in very truth changed their mind, since he heard that they were cowardly and fickle in general and perceived that at this

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time they were terrified in the face of their defeats ; D.C. 47
but even in case they should be planning some trick, in order that he might not be regarded as hindering peace, he said that he approved their request, and sent them Ptolemy. For he saw no source of strength in the lad, in view of his youth and lack of education, and hoped that the Egyptians would either become reconciled with him on the terms he wished or else would more justly deserve to be warred upon and subjugated, so that there might be some reasonable excuse for delivering them over to Cleopatra ; for of course he had no idea that he would be defeated by them, particularly now that his troops had joined him. But the Egyptians, when they secured the lad, took not a thought for peace, but straightway set out against Mithridates, as if they were sure to accomplish some great achievement by the name and by the family of Ptolemy ; and they surrounded Mithridates near the lake, between the river and the marshes, and routed his forces. Now Caesar did not pursue them, through fear of being ambushed, but at night he set sail as if he were hurrying to some outlet of the Nile, and kindled an enormous fire on each vessel, so that it might be widely believed that he was going thither. He started at first, then, to sail away, but afterwards extinguished the fires, returned, and passed alongside the city to the peninsula on the Libyan side, where he came to land ; and there he disembarked the soldiers, went around the lake, and fell upon the Egyptians unexpectedly about dawn. They were immediately so dismayed that they made overtures for peace, but since he would not listen to

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- 4 καὶ ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο (τὴν γὰρ ἰκετείαν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐδέξατο) μάχῃ τε ὀξείᾳ κατεκράτησε καὶ παμπληθεῖς ἐφόνευσεν· καὶ τινες καὶ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ μετὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, σπουδῇ δι' αὐτοῦ φυγόντες, ἐφθάρησαν.
- 44 Οὕτω μὲν τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐχειρώσατο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑπήκοον αὐτὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ, ἥσπερ ἕνεκα καὶ 2 ἐπεπολεμήκει, ἐχαρίσατο. φοβηθεὶς μέντοι μὴ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι νεωτερίσωσιν αὐθις γυναικὶ ἄρχειν παραδοθέντες, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τε τοῦτο καὶ ὅτι καὶ συνῆν αὐτῷ χαλεπήνωσι, τῷ τε ἐτέρῳ ἀδελφῷ συνοικῆσαι δῆθεν αὐτὴν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀμφοτέροις σφίσιν, ὥς γε καὶ λόγῳ 3 εἰπεῖν, ἔδωκε. τῷ γὰρ ἔργῳ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα μόνη πᾶν τὸ κράτος σχήσειν ἔμελλεν· ὁ τε γὰρ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς παιδίον ἔτι ἦν, καὶ ἐκείνη πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος εὐνοίαν οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐδύνατο, 4 ὥστε πρόσχημα μὲν ὡς καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνοικουῖσα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπίκοινον αὐτῷ ἔχουσα ἐκέκτητο, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς μόνη τε ἐβασίλευε καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι συνδιητᾶτο.
- 45 Καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ¹ πλείον ἂν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ κατέσχευεν, ἣ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην εὐθύς αὐτῷ συναπῆρεν, εἰ μήπερ ὁ Φαρνάκης καὶ ἐκεῖθεν πάννυ ἄκοντα τὸν Καίσαρα ἐξήγαγε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν 2 ἐπειχθῆναι ἐκώλυσεν. οὗτος γὰρ παῖς μὲν² τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἦν καὶ τοῦ Βοσπόρου τοῦ Κιμμερίου ἦρχεν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἐπιθυμήσας δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν πατρῴαν βασιλείαν ἀνακτήσασθαι ἐπανέστη κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου

¹ ἐπὶ Rk., ἔτι L. ² γὰρ παῖς μὲν Bk., μὲν γὰρ παῖς L.

BOOK XLII

their entreaty, a fierce battle later took place in which he was victorious and slew great numbers of the enemy. Ptolemy and some others tried in their haste to escape across the river, and perished in it. B.C. 47

In this way Caesar overcame Egypt. He did not, however, make it subject to the Romans, but bestowed it upon Cleopatra, for whose sake he had waged the conflict. Yet, being afraid that the Egyptians might rebel again, because they were delivered over to a woman to rule, and that the Romans might be angry, both on this account and because he was living with the woman, he commanded her to "marry" her other brother, and gave the kingdom to both of them, at least nominally. For in reality Cleopatra was to hold all the power alone, since her husband was still a boy, and in view of Caesar's favour there was nothing that she could not do. Hence her living with her brother and sharing the rule with him was a mere pretence which she accepted, whereas in truth she ruled alone and spent her time in Caesar's company.

She would have detained him even longer in Egypt or else would have set out with him at once for Rome, had not Pharnaces not only drawn Caesar away from Egypt, very much against his will, but also hindered him from hurrying to Italy. This king was a son of Mithridates and ruled the Cimmerian Bosphorus, as has been stated¹; he conceived the desire to win back again the entire kingdom of his ancestors, and so he revolted just at the time of the quarrel between Caesar and

¹ xxxvii. 12-14, xlii. 9.

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- στάσιν, καὶ οἷα τῶν Ῥωμαίων τότε μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀσχόλων γενομένων, αὐθις δὲ ἐν τῇ
- 3 Αἰγύπτῳ κατασχεθέντων, τὴν τε Κολχίδα ἀκουτὶ προσηγάγετο καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπόντος τοῦ Διηοτάρου πᾶσαν, τῆς τε Καππαδοκίας¹ καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πόντου πόλεων τινας, αἱ τῷ τῆς Βιθυνίας νομῷ
- 46 προσετετάχατο, κατεστρέψατο. πράσσοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἐκινήθη (οὔτε γὰρ ἡ Αἴγυπτος πω καθειστήκει,² καὶ ἐλπίδος τι³ εἶχε δι' ἐτέρων αὐτὸν χειρώσεσθαι), Γναῖον δὲ Δομίτιον Καλουῖνον ἔπεμψε, τὴν τε Ἀσίαν οἱ καὶ⁴ στρατόπεδα προστάξας.
- 2 καὶ ὃς τὸν Διηόταρον καὶ τὸν Ἀριοβαρζάνην προσλαβὼν ἤλασεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην ἐν τῇ Νικοπόλει ὄντα (καὶ γὰρ ταύτην προκατελήφει), καὶ καταφρονήσας, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ φοβηθεὶς ἀνοχὴν ἐπὶ πρεσβεύσει ἐτοίμως ἔσχε ποιήσασθαι,⁵ οὔτε ἐσπέισατο αὐτῷ καὶ
- 3 συμβαλὼν ἡττήθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐπειδὴ μήτε ἀξιόμαχος οἱ ἦν καὶ ὁ χειμῶν προσῆι, ἀνεχώρησεν. Φαρνάκης δὲ μεγάλα δὴ φρονῶν τά τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ προσκατεκτήσατο,⁶ καὶ Ἀμισὸν καίπερ ἐπὶ πλείον ἀντισχοῦσαν εἰλέ τε καὶ διήρπασε, τοὺς τε ἡβώντας ἐν αὐτῇ πάντας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν τὴν τε Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς τῷ πατρὶ
- 4 ἐλπίσιν ἡπείγετο. κὰν τοῦτῳ μαθὼν τὸν Ἀσανδρον, ὃν ἐπίτροπον τοῦ Βοσπόρου κατελε-

¹ Some word like μέρος or τὸ πλεῖστον seems to have fallen out here ² καθειστήκει R. Steph., καθειστήκη L.

³ τι Dind., τε L. ⁴ Lacuna recognized by Dind

⁵ ποιήσασθαι v. Herw., ποιήσεσθαι L

⁶ προσκατεκτήσατο Pflugk, προσκατεστήσατο L.

BOOK XLII

Pompey, and, as the Romans were at that time B C 47 occupied with one another and afterward were detained in Egypt, he got possession of Colchis without any difficulty, and in the absence of Deiotarus subjugated all Armenia, and [part?] of Cappadocia, and some cities of Pontus that had been assigned to the district of Bithynia. While he was thus engaged, Caesar himself did not stir, inasmuch as Egypt was not yet in a settled state and he had some hope of overcoming Pharnaces through others; but he sent Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus, assigning him charge of Asia and of . . . legions. This officer added to his forces Deiotarus and Ariobarzanes and marched straight against Pharnaces, who was at Nicopolis, which he had already seized; and feeling contempt for his enemy, because the latter in dread of his arrival was ready through an embassy to agree to an armistice, he did not conclude a truce with him, but attacked him and was defeated. After that he retired to Asia, since he was no match for his conqueror and winter was approaching. Pharnaces was greatly elated, and after acquiring all the rest of Pontus, captured Amisus also, though it long held out against him; and he plundered the city and put to the sword all the men of military age there. He then hastened into Bithynia and Asia with the same hopes as his father had cherished. Meanwhile, learning that Asander, whom he had left as governor of Bosphorus, had

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λοίπει, νενεοχμωκότα, οὐκέτι περαιτέρω¹ προεχώρησεν· ἐκεῖνος γάρ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα πόρρω τε ὁ Φαρνάκης ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προίων ἡγγέλη, καὶ ἐδόκει, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι ἀνθοῖ,² ἀλλ' οὔτι γε καὶ ἔπειτα καλῶς ἀπαλλάξειν, ἐπανεστή αὐτῷ ὥς καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τι χαριούμενος τὴν τε δυναστείαν τοῦ Βοσπόρου παρ' αὐτῶν ληψόμενος.

- 47 Τοῦτ' οὖν ὁ Φαρνάκης ἀκούσας ὥρμησεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν μάτην· τὸν γὰρ Καίσαρα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐπείγεσθαι πυθόμενος ἀνέστρεψε, κἀνταῦθα αὐτῷ περὶ Ζέλαν συνέντευχεν. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ τοῦ τε Πτολεμαίου τελευτήσαντος καὶ τοῦ Δομιτίου νικηθέντος οὔτε εὐπρεπῇ οὔτε λυσιτελῇ οἱ τὴν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ διατριβὴν ἐνόμισεν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἀφωρμήθη, καὶ τάχει πολλῷ
- 2 χρησάμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀφίκετο. ἐκπλαγείς οὖν ὁ βάρβαρος, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὴν ὁρμὴν ἢ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ καταδείσας, προσέπεμψεν αὐτῷ πρὶν πλησιάσαι πολλάκις προκηρυκεύμενος, εἰ πως τὸ παρὸν ἐφ' ὁτῶδὴ συνθέμενος
- 3 ἐκφύγοι. προίσχετο δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὅτι οὐ συνήρατο τῷ Πομπηίῳ· καὶ ἠλπίζεν ὑπάξεσθαι τε αὐτὸν ἐς σπονδάς ἅτε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὴν τε Ἀφρικὴν ἐπειγόμενον, καὶ ἀπελθόντος αὐτοῦ ῥαδίως αὐθις πολεμήσειν.
- 4 ὑποπτεύσας οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν πρώτους καὶ τοὺς δευτέρους πρέσβεις ἐφιλοφρονήσατο, ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ οἱ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐλπίδι προσπέσῃ, τῶν δὲ τρίτων ἐλθόντων τά τε

¹ περαιτέρω R. Steph., περεταίρωι L.

² ἀνθοῖ Bk., ἀν λάθοι L.

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revolted, he gave up advancing any farther. For B C 47
Asander, as soon as word was brought that Pharnaces was moving far away from him, and it seemed likely that however prosperous he might be temporarily, he would not fare well later on, rose against him, thinking thus to do a favour to the Romans and to receive the sovereignty of Bosphorus from them.

It was at the news of this that Pharnaces set out against him, but all in vain; for on ascertaining that Caesar was on the way and was hurrying into Armenia, he turned back and met him there near Zela. For now that Ptolemy was dead and Domitius vanquished, Caesar had decided that his delay in Egypt was neither creditable nor profitable to him, and had set out from there and had come with great speed into Armenia. And so the barbarian, alarmed and fearing Caesar's rapidity much more than his army, sent messengers to him before he drew near, making frequent proposals to see if he might on some terms or other escape the present danger. One of the principal pleas that he presented was that he had not cooperated with Pompey, and he hoped to induce Caesar to grant a truce, particularly since the latter was anxious to hasten to Italy and Africa; and once Caesar was gone, he hoped to wage war again at his ease. Caesar suspected this, and so treated the first and second embassies with great kindness, in order that he might fall upon his foe as unexpectedly as possible because of his hopes of peace; but when the third deputation came, he uttered various re-

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ἄλλα ἐπεκάλεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὅτι τὸν Πομπήιον τὸν
 5 εὐεργέτην ἐγκατέλιπεν. καὶ οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο,¹
 ἀλλ' εὐθὺς αὐθημερόν, ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ,
 συνέμιξε, καὶ τινα χρόνον ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἵππου καὶ
 ὑπὸ τῶν δρεπανηφόρων ἐκταραχθεὶς ἔπειτα τοῖς
 ὀπλίταις ἐκράτησε. καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐκφυγόντα
 ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἐς² τὸν Βόσπορον μετὰ
 τοῦτο ἐσβιαζόμενον, ὁ Ἄσανδρος εἰρξέε τε καὶ
 48 ἀπέκτεινε. Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, καίπερ οὐ
 πάννυ διαπρεπεῖ γενομένη, πολὺ καὶ ὅσον ἐπ'
 οὐδεμιᾷ ἄλλῃ ἐφρόνησεν, ὅτι ἔν τε τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ
 καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ καὶ ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν πολέμιον
 2 καὶ εἶδεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνίκησε. καὶ τὰ τε λάφυρα
 πάντα, καίτοι πλεῖστα γενόμενα, τοῖς στρατιώ-
 ταις ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ τρόπαιον, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ Μι-
 θριδάτης ἀπὸ τοῦ Τριαρίου ἐνταυθα ποῦ ἐγγιγέρκει,
 ἀντανέστησε· καθελεῖν μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου
 οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ὥς καὶ τοῖς ἐμπολεμίοις θεοῖς
 ἱερωμένον, τῇ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ἰδίου παραστάσει καὶ
 ἐκεῖνο συνεσκίασε καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ κατέ-
 3 στρεψε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν χώραν ὅσῃν τῶν τε
 Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἐνόρκων σφίσιν ἀποτετμημένος
 ὁ Φαρνάκης ἦν ἐκομίσαστο, καὶ αὐτὴν πᾶσαν ὥς
 ἐκάστοις τοῖς ἀπολέεσασιν ἔδωκε, πλὴν μέρους
 τινὸς τῆς Ἀρμενίας, ὃ τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνει ἐχαρί-
 4 σαστο. τοὺς τε Ἀμισηνοὺς³ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμείψατο,
 καὶ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ Περγαμηνῷ τετραρχίαν τε
 ἐν Γαλατίᾳ καὶ βασιλείας ὄνομα ἔδωκε, πρὸς τε
 τὸν Ἄσανδρον πολεμῆσαι ἐπέτρεψεν, ὅπως καὶ

¹ ἀνεβάλετο H. Steph., ἀνεβάλλετο L.

² ἐς Bk., ἐπὶ L.

³ Ἀμισηνοὺς R. Steph., ἀμισίνους L.

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proaches against him, one being that he had deserted Pompey, his benefactor. Then he no longer delayed, but immediately, that very day and just as he came from the march, joined battle. For a little while some confusion was caused him by the enemy's cavalry and scythe-bearing chariots, but after that he conquered with his heavy-armed troops. Pharnaces escaped to the sea and later tried to force his way into Bosphorus, but Asander repulsed and killed him. Caesar took great pride in this victory,—more, in fact, than in any other, even though it had not been very brilliant,—because on the same day and in the same hour he had come to the enemy, had seen him, and had conquered him.¹ All the spoils, though of great magnitude, he bestowed upon the soldiers, and he set up a trophy to offset one which Mithridates had raised somewhere in that region to commemorate the defeat of Triarius.² He did not dare to take down that of the barbarians, because it had been dedicated to the gods of war, but by the erection of his own near it he overshadowed and in a sense overthrew the other. Next he recovered all the territory belonging to the Romans and those under treaty with them which Pharnaces had taken, and restored it all to the persons who had been dispossessed, except a portion of Armenia, which he granted to Ariobarzanes. The people of Amisus he rewarded with freedom, and to Mithridates the Pergamenian he gave a tetrarchy in Galatia and the title of king and allowed him to wage war against Asander, so that by conquering him, he might get Bosphorus

B.C. 47

¹ A translation of the words *Veni vidi vici*, carried in the triumphal procession

² Compare xxxvi. 12-13.

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τὸν Βόσπορον κρατήσας αὐτοῦ λάβῃ, ὅτι πονηρὸς ἐς τὸν φίλον ἐγένετο.

- 49 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῷ Δομιτίῳ καταστήσασθαι κελεύσας, ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν ἦλθε, κἀντεῦθεν ἐς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπλευσε, πολλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πάσῃ προφάσει χρήματα
2 παρὰ πάντων, ὥσπερ καὶ πρὶν, ἐκλέγων. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ, ὅσα τινὲς τῷ Πομπηίῳ προυπέσχοντο, ἐπράξατο, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα¹ ἔξωθεν, προσεπικαλῶν τινα, ῥῆται. τά τε ἀναθήματα τοῦ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ Ἡρακλέους πάντα ἀνείλετο, ὅτι τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν παῖδα τοῦ Πομπηίου ὑπεδέξαντο
3 ὅτε ἔφυγον. καὶ στεφάνους ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις συχνοὺς καὶ παρὰ τῶν δυναστῶν τῶν τε βασιλέων χρυσοὺς ἔλαβε. ταῦτα δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ κακίας ἐποίει, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐδαπάνη παμπληθῆ, καὶ ἀνάλωσιν πολὺ πλείω ἐς τε τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπινίκια, τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα ἐλαμπρύνετο, ποιήσειν
4 ἔμελλε. τό τε σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, χρηματοποιὸς ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, δύο τε εἶναι λέγων τὰ τὰς δυναστείας παρασκευάζοντα καὶ φυλάσσοντα καὶ ἐπαύξοντα, στρατιώτας καὶ χρήματα, καὶ ταῦτα
5 δι' ἀλλήλων συνεστηκέναι· τῇ τε γὰρ τροφῇ τὰ στρατεύματα συνέχεσθαι, καὶ ἐκείνην ἐκ τῶν ὀπλῶν συλλέγεσθαι· κἂν θάτερον ὁποτερονοῦν² αὐτῶν ἐνδεὲς ᾖ, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον συγκαταλυθῆσθαι.
- 50 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων οὕτω καὶ ἐφρόνει αἰεὶ καὶ ἔλεγεν· ἐς δὲ δὴ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν καίπερ πεπολεμωμένην οἶ, ἠπείχθη ὅτι ταραπτόμενα τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει πυθόμενος ἐφοβήθη

¹ ἄλλα R. Steph., ἄλλας L.

² ὁποτερονοῦν Reim., ὁποτέρου οὖν L.

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also, since Asander had proved base toward his friend. B. L. 47

After accomplishing this and ordering Domitius to arrange other matters he came to Bithynia and from there to Greece, whence he sailed for Italy, collecting along the way great sums of money from everybody, and upon every pretext, just as before. In the first place, he exacted all that any had previously promised to Pompey, and again, he asked for still more from other sources, bringing various accusations to justify his action. He removed all the votive offerings of Heracles at Tyre, because the inhabitants had received the wife and son of Pompey when they fled. He also got many golden crowns from potentates and kings in honour of his victories. All this he did, not out of malice, but because his expenditures were on a vast scale and because he was intending to lay out still more upon his legions, his triumph, and everything else that gratified his pride. In short, he showed himself a money-getter, declaring that there were two things which created, protected, and increased sovereignties,—soldiers and money,—and that these two were dependent upon each other. For it was by proper maintenance, he said, that armies were kept together, and this maintenance was secured by arms; and in case either one of them were lacking, the other also would be overthrown at the same time.

About these matters he ever thought and spoke thus. Now it was to Italy that he hurried and not to Africa, although the latter region had become hostile to him, because he learned of the disturbances in the capital and feared that they might be carried

- 2 μὴ καὶ ἐς ἀνίκηστον προχωρήσῃ. οὐ μέντοι καὶ
κακὸν οὐδένα οὐδέν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, εἰργάσατο,
πλήν ὅτι κἀνταῦθα πολλὰ ἡργυρολόγησε, τὰ μὲν
τινα ἐν δωρεᾷς μέρει, στεφάνους καὶ ἀγάλματα
καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, λαμβάνων, τὰ δὲ καὶ
δανειζόμενος δῆθεν, οὐχ ὅτι παρὰ τῶν ιδιωτῶν
3 ἰλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν πόλεων. τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα
ταῖς ἐκλογαῖς τῶν χρημάτων, ἐφ' αἷς μηδεμία
ἄλλη πρόφασις εὐλογος ἦν, ἐτίθετο, ἐπεὶ τὴν γε
ἰλλως καὶ βιαίως, οὐδὲν ἦττον τῶν ὀφειλομένων,
καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπράττετο, καὶ ἔμελλε μηδέποτε
ἀποδοθῆσθαι. ἔλεγε μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ¹ τοῦ δη-
μοσίου τὰ οἰκεῖα δεδαπανηκέναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
4 καὶ δανείζεσθαι. ὅθεν περ καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς
ἰξιούντος τοῦ πλήθους γενέσθαι οὐκ ἐποίησεν,
εἰπὼν ὅτι "καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὰ ὀφείλω." εὐδηλος δὲ
ἐγίνετο καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια τῇ δυναστείᾳ παρασπώ-
5 μενος. οἳ τε οὖν ἄλλοι διὰ τοῦτο ἤχθοντο αὐτῷ
καὶ οἱ ἐταῖροι.² τῶν γὰρ δεδημευμένων συχνά, καὶ
ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν γε ἔστιν ἃ, ἐλπίδι τοῦ προῖκα
αὐτὰ ἔξειν ἀγοράσαντες, πᾶσαι τὴν τιμὴν ἀπο-
τίνειν ἠναγκάζοντο.
- 51 Ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν ἐν³ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιεῖτο.
καίτοι καὶ ἐκείνους τρόπον τινὰ ὡς ἐκάστους
ἐθεράπευσε. τοῖς τε γὰρ πολλοῖς ἐχαρίσατο τὸν
τε τόκον τὸν ἐποφειλόμενόν σφισιν ἐξ οὗ πρὸς
τὸν Πομπήιον ἐξεπολεμώθη πάντα, καὶ τὸ ἐνοίκιον
ὅσον ἐς πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς ἦν ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐνὸς
2 ἀφείς, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰς τιμήσεις τῶν κτημά-
των, ἐν οἷς τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν δανεισμάτων κατὰ

¹ ὑπὲρ R. Steph., ὑπὸ L. ² ἐταῖροι R. Steph., ἑτεροὶ L.³ ἐν supplied by Leuncl

BOOK XLII

to dangerous lengths. Nevertheless, as I have said,¹ B.C. 47
 he did no harm to any one, except that there, too, he collected large amounts, partly in the shape of crowns and statues and the like which he received as gifts, and partly by "borrowing," as he styled it, not only from individual citizens but also from cities. This term "borrowing" he applied to those levies of money for which there was no other reasonable excuse; for he exacted these sums also in a high-handed way and no less by force than he collected money actually due him, and it was his intention never to repay them. He claimed, indeed, that he had spent his private possessions for the public good and that indeed it was for that reason he was borrowing. Accordingly, when the multitude demanded an annulment of debts, he would not grant this, saying: "I, too, owe large amounts." It was easy to see that he was wresting away others' property also by his position of supremacy, and for this his associates as well as others disliked him. For these men, who had bought a great deal of the confiscated property, in some cases for more than its real value, in the hope of retaining it without paying for it, now found themselves compelled to pay the full price.

But to such persons he paid no attention. Nevertheless, to a certain extent he did court them, too, as individuals. For he made a present to the multitude of all the interest they were owing from the time he had gone to war with Pompey, and he released them from all rent for one year, up to the sum of two thousand sesterces; furthermore he raised the valuation on the goods, in terms of which it was required by law for loans to be paid to their

¹ Ch. 33.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- τοὺς νόμους γίνεσθαι ἔδει, πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἀξίαν ἐπαναγαγόν, ἐπειδὴ¹ τῷ πλήθει τῶν δε-
 3 δημοσιωμένων πολὺ πάντα ἐπευώνιστο. τούτους
 τε οὖν ταῦτα πράξας ἀνηρτήσατο, καὶ τῶν
 προσεταιριστῶν τῶν τε συναγωνιστῶν τοὺς μὲν
 βουλευτὰς ἱερωσύναις τε καὶ ἀρχαῖς ταῖς τε ἐς
 τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους ἐκείνου χρόνον καὶ ταῖς ἐς
 νέωτα² (ἵνα γὰρ πλείους αὐτῶν ἀμείψῃται,
 στρατηγούς τε δέκα ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ οὗτος ἔτος ἀπέδειξε³
 4 καὶ ἱεράς ὑπὲρ τὸ νευομισμένον· τοῖς τε γὰρ
 ποντίφιξι καὶ τοῖς οἰωνισταῖς, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν,
 τοῖς τε πεντεκαίδεκα καλουμένοις ἕνα ἐκάστοις
 προσένευε, καίπερ αὐτὸς βουλευθεὶς πάσας τὰς
 5 ἱερωσύνας λαβεῖν ὥσπερ ἐψηφίστο), τοὺς δὲ
 ἰππέας τοῦ τέλους τοὺς τε ἑκατοντάρχους καὶ
 τοὺς ὑπομείοντας ἄλλοις τέ τισι καὶ τῷ καὶ ἐς τὸ
 συνέδριόν τινας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων
 καταλέξει.
- 52 Τὰ δὲ δὴ στρατόπεδα οὐχ ἡσυχῇ αὐτὸν ἐτάραξε·
 πολλὰ γὰρ λήψεσθαι ἐλπίσαντες, καὶ εὐρόμενοι
 τῆς μὲν ἀξίας οὐκ ἐλάττω τῆς δὲ προσδοκίας
 καταδεέστερα, ἐθορύβησαν. ἐν Καμπανίᾳ δὲ οἱ
 πλείους αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν προπλευ-
 2 σόμενοι, ἦσαν. οὗτοι οὖν τὸν τε⁴ Σαλούστιον
 παρ' ὀλίγον ἀπέκτειναν (στρατηγὸς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ
 τὴν βουλείαν⁵ ἀναλαβεῖν ἀπεδέδεικτο), καὶ ἐπειδὴ
 καὶ ἐκεῖνος διαφυγὼν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πρὸς
 τὸν Καίσαρα ὤρμησε, τὰ γιγνόμενά οἱ δηλώσων,
 ἐφέσποντό τε αὐτῷ συχνοὶ μηδενὸς φειδόμενοι,

¹ ἐπειδὴ Bk., ἐπὶ δὲ L.

² νέωτα R. Steph., νεώτατα L.

³ ἀπέδειξε R. Steph., ἀποδείξει L.

⁴ οὖν τὸν τε Bk., τε οὖν τὸν L.

⁵ βουλείαν Bs., βουλὴν L.

BOOK XLII

worth at the time the loan had been made, in view of the fact that everything had become much cheaper as a result of the great amount of confiscated property. By these acts he attached the people to himself; and he attached the members of his party and those who had fought for him in the following manner. Upon the senators he bestowed priest-hoods and offices, some of them for the rest of that year and some for the next. Indeed, in order to reward a larger number, he appointed ten praetors for the next year and more than the customary number of priests; for he added one member each to the pontifices and to the augurs, of whom he was one, and also to the Quindecimviri,¹ as they were called, although he had desired to take all the priesthoods himself, as had been decreed. The knights in the army and the centurions and subordinate officers he conciliated in various ways, especially by appointing some of them to the senate to fill the places of those who had perished.

The legions, however, caused him no slight trouble; for they had expected to receive a great deal, and when they found their rewards inferior to their expectations, though not less, to be sure, than their deserts, they made a disturbance. The most of them were in Campania, being destined to sail on ahead to Africa. These nearly killed Sallust, who had been appointed praetor in order to recover his senatorial rank; and when, after escaping them, he set out for Rome to inform Caesar of what was going on, many followed

¹ *Quindecimviri sacris faciundis.*

- καὶ ἄλλους τε τῶν ἐντυχόντων σφίσι καὶ βου-
 3 λευτὰς δύο ἔσφαξαν. ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ ὡς τάχιστα
 τῆς προσόδου αὐτῶν ἦσθετο, ἠθέλησε μὲν τὸ
 δορυφορικὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀντιπέμψαι, φοβηθεὶς δὲ
 μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι συστασιάσωσιν σφισιν ἡσύχασε,
 μέχρις οὗ ἐς τὸ προάστειον ἀφίκοντο. ἐνταῦθα δὲ
 δὴ οὖσιν αὐτοῖς προσέπεμψε, καὶ ἐπύθετο τί
 4 βουλόμενοι καὶ τίνος χρήζοντες ἦκοιεν. ἀπο-
 κριναμένων τέ σφων ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ ἐρούσιν,
 ἐπέτρεψε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἄνευ τῶν
 ὅπλων, πλὴν τῶν ξιφῶν, ἐσελθεῖν· ταῦτα γὰρ
 καὶ ἄλλως καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει φορεῖν εἰώθεσαν, καὶ
 53 τότε οὐκ ἂν ὑπέμειναν καταθέσθαι· εἰπόντων
 δὲ αὐτῶν πολλὰ μὲν περὶ ὧν καὶ ἐπόνησαν καὶ
 ἐκινδύνευσαν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἤλπισαν
 ἀξίους τέ σφας τυχεῖν ἔφασκον εἶναι, καὶ μετὰ
 τοῦτο ἀφεσθῆναί τε τῆς στρατείας ἀξιούντων καὶ
 2 δεινῶς διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ ἐγκειμένῳ, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ
 ἰδιωτεῦσαι ἐβούλουντο (ἦκιστα γάρ, ἅτε καὶ συνή-
 θεις ταῖς πλεονεξίαις ἐκ πολλοῦ γεγονότες, τοῦτ'
 ἤθελον) ἀλλ' ὅτι καταπλήξειν τε ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸν
 Καίσαρα καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν καταπράξειν, ἅτε καὶ
 ὑπογύνου¹ οἱ τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν στρατείας²
 3 οὔσης, ἐνόμιζον, περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν σφισι
 τὸ παράπαν ἀπεκρίνατο, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰπὼν
 μονα “ἀλλ' ὀρθῶς γε, ὦ Κυριῖται,³ λέγετε· καὶ
 γὰρ κεκμήκατε καὶ κατατέτρωσθε” πάντας αὐ-
 τοὺς παραχρῆμα ὡς μηδὲν δῆθεν αὐτῶν δεόμενος
 διήκε, καὶ τοῖς τὸν τεταγμένον χρόνον ἐστρατευ-

¹ ὑπογύνου R. Steph., ὑπογύνου L.² στρατείας H. Steph., στρατιάς L.³ Κυριῖται R. Steph., κοιριῖται L.

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him, sparing no one on their way, but killing, among B.C. 47 others whom they met, two senators. Caesar, as soon as he heard of their approach, wished to send his body-guard against them, but fearing that it, too, might join in the mutiny, he remained quiet until they reached the suburbs. While they waited there he sent to them and inquired what wish or what need had brought them. Upon their replying that they would tell him personally he allowed them to enter the city unarmed, except for their swords; for they were regularly accustomed to wear these in the city, and they would not have submitted to laying them aside at that time. They had much to say about the toils and dangers they had undergone and much about what they had hoped for and what they declared they deserved to obtain. Next they asked to be released from service and were very insistent with him upon this point, not that they wished to return to private life,—indeed they were far from anxious for this, since they had long been accustomed to the gains of war,—but because they thought they would scare Caesar in this way and accomplish anything they pleased, since his projected invasion of Africa was close at hand. He, however, made no reply at all to their first statements, but said merely: "Why, of course, Quirites,¹ what you say is right; you are naturally weary and worn out with wounds," and then at once disbanded them all as if he had no further need of them, promising that he would give the rewards in

I.e. Citizens.

μένοις καὶ τὰ γέρα ἐντελῇ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο.
 4 λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων κατεπλάγησαν ἔκ τε τῆς
 ἄλλης αὐτοῦ διανοίας, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι Κυρίτας
 ἀλλ' οὐ στρατιώτας σφᾶς ὠνόμασε, καὶ ταπεινω-
 θέντες φοβηθέντες τε μὴ πάθωσί τι δεινὸν μετε-
 βάλλοντο,¹ καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἰκετεύοντες αὐτὸν εἶπον,
 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι καὶ συστρατεύσειν²
 οἱ ἐθέλονται καὶ τὸν πόλεμον μόνοι διαπολεμήσειν
 5 ὑπέσχοντο. ὥς οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν, καὶ τις καὶ
 τῶν στρατιαρχῶν ἐν τοσούτῳ, ἣ καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ
 γνώμης ἡ³ χαριζόμενος τῷ Καίσαρι, διελέχθη τέ
 τινα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐδεήθη, “ἀφίημι μὲν” ἔφη
 “καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς παρόντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 6 πάντας, ὅσοις τὰ τῆς στρατείας ἔτη ἐξήκει· οὐδὲ
 γὰρ οὐδὲ δέομαί τι ὑμῶν· τὰ μέντοι γέρα καὶ
 ὥς ὑμῖν ἀποδώσω, ἵνα μήποτε τις εἶπῃ ὅτι ἐγὼ
 χρησάμενος ὑμῖν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἔπειτα ἀχάρισ-
 τος ἐγενόμην, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν
 ἐρρωμένοι καὶ πάντα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσδιαπο-
 λεμήσαι δυνάμενοι οὐκ ἠθελήσατέ μοι συστρατεῦ-
 54 σαι.” καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτά τε σοφιζόμενος εἶπε (πάνν
 γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔχρηζε) καὶ χώραν ἔκ τε τῆς δημοσίας
 καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δὴ πασὶ σφισιν ἔνειμεν, ἄλλους
 ἄλλῃ, καὶ πάνν πόρρω ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀπαρτήσας,
 ὥστε μήτε τοῖς ὁμοχώροις σφᾶς φοβεροὺς μήτ'
 αὐτὸν πρὸς νεωτερισμὸν ἐτοίμους, καθ' ἓν που
 2 συνοικούντας, γενέσθαι. τῶν τε ἐποφειλομένων
 σφίσι χρημάτων, ἃ πολλὰ καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ὥς
 εἰπεῖν πράξιν ὑπέσχητο δώσειν, τὰ μὲν εὐθύς

¹ μετεβάλλοντο Bk., μετεβάλλοντο L.

² συστρατεύσειν Xiph., συστρατεύειν L.

³ ἡ supplied by Reim.

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full to such as had served the appointed time. At these words they were struck with alarm both at his intention in general and particularly because he had called them Quirites instead of soldiers; and so, humiliated and fearing they should meet with some severe penalty, they changed front and addressed him with many entreaties and offers, promising that they would join his expedition as volunteers and would carry the war through for him by themselves. When they had reached this stage and one of their leaders also, either on his own impulse or as a favour to Caesar, had said a few words and presented a few petitions in their behalf, he replied: "I discharge both you who are present here and all the rest whose years of service have expired; for I really have no further need of you. Yet even so I will pay you the rewards, that no one may say that after using you in dangers I later showed myself ungrateful, even though you were unwilling to join my campaign while perfectly strong in body and able to carry through all the wars that remain." This he said for effect, for they were quite indispensable to him. He then assigned them all land from the public holdings and from his own, settling them in different places, and separating them far from one another, so that they should not, by living somewhere together, either be a source of terror to their neighbours or, again, be ready for rebellion. As to the money that he owed them,—and on the eve of practically every action he had promised to give them large amounts,—he offered to pay part immediately and to settle

B C 47

- ἀπαλλάξουσιν, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν καὶ σὺν τόκῳ
γε¹ διαλύσειν ἐπηγγείλατο. εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ
δουλωσάμενος αὐτοὺς ὥστε μήτε τι θρασύνεσθαι
καὶ προσέτι καὶ χάριν εἰδέναι, προσεπείπεν
3 “ἀπέχετε μὲν παρ’ ἐμοῦ πάντα, καὶ οὐδένα ἔθ’
ὑμῶν ἀναγκάσω στρατεύσασθαι· εἰ μέντοι τις
ἐκούσιος ἐθέλοι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μοι συγκατεργά-
σασθαι, ἡδέως αὐτὸν δέξομαι.” ἀκούσαντες δὲ
τοῦτο ἐκεῖνοι ὑπερήσθησαν καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως
55 ἀναστρατεύσασθαι ἠθέλησαν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ
τοὺς ταραχώδεις αὐτῶν, οὐ πάντας ἀλλ’ ὅσοι
μετρίως πῶς συνόντες² γεωργίαις ζῆν ἐδύναντο,
ἀπολέξας τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐχρήσατο. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ
2 ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ἐποίησεν· τοὺς γὰρ
πάνυ τε θρασεῖς καὶ ἱκανοὺς μέγα τι κακὸν δρᾶσαι
ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξήγαγεν, ὅπως μηδὲν ἐκεῖ
καταλειφθέντες νεοχμώσωσιν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ
Ἀφρικῇ καὶ μάλα ἡδέως, ἄλλους κατ’ ἄλλην
πρόφασιν, ἀνάλωσε· τοὺς τε γὰρ ἐναντίους ἅμα
δι’ αὐτῶν κατειργάζετο καὶ ἐκείνων ἀπηλλάττετο.
3 φιλανθρωπότατός τε³ γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ὢν, καὶ πολλὰ
κεχαρισμένα τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις
μάλιστα ποιῶν, δεινῶς τοὺς στασιάζοντάς σφω
ἐμίσει καὶ ἰσχυρότατα αὐτοὺς ἐκόλαζε.
4 Ταῦτά τε⁴ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ δικτάτωρ
μὲν ὄντως αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον ἦρξεν, ὑπατοὶ δὲ
ἐπ’ ἐξόδῳ αὐτοῦ ἀποδειχθέντες ὃ τε Καλῆνος
56 καὶ ὁ Οὐατίνιος⁵ ἐλέγοντο εἶναι, ἐποίησε, καὶ
ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν καίτοι τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐνεστη-

¹ γε Bk., τε L² συνόντες Rk., ὄντες L.³ τε supplied by R. Steph.⁴ τε supplied by Bk.⁵ Οὐατίνιος R. Steph., οὐλτίνιος I.

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for the remainder with interest in the near future. When he had said this and had so enthralled them that they showed no sign of boldness but even went so far as to express their gratitude, he added "You have all that is due to you from me, and I will compel no one of you to make campaigns any longer. If, however, any one wishes of his own accord to help me accomplish what remains, I will gladly receive him." Hearing this, they were overjoyed, and all alike volunteered to serve again. Caesar put aside the turbulent spirits among them,—not all to be sure, but as many as were moderately well acquainted with farming and so could make a living,—and the others he used. He did the same also in the case of the rest of his soldiers: those who were overbold and able to cause serious trouble he took away from Italy, in order that they might not be left behind there and begin an insurrection; and he took great satisfaction in using them up in Africa on various pretexts, since at the same time he was destroying his foes through their efforts he was also ridding himself of them. For although he was the kindest of men and showed many favours not only to the citizens in general but particularly to his soldiers, he bitterly hated those of them who were mutinous and punished them with extreme severity.

These were the things he did in that year in which he really ruled alone as dictator for the second time, though Calenus and Vatinius, appointed near the close of the year, were said to be the consuls. He also crossed over to Africa, although winter had set

κότος ἐπεραιώθη. καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγα δὲ ἐκ τούτου, ἀνέλπιστος τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσπεσών, κατώρθωσε· πλεῖστον γὰρ παρὰ πάντα καὶ τῷ τάχει καὶ ταῖς ἐκ¹ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκῆτου στρατείαις² κατέπραττεν, ὥστ' εἴ τις ἐκλογίζοιτο³ ὅτῳ τοσούτον τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπερήνεγκεν, οὐδὲν ἂν⁴ ἄλλο τούτου μᾶλλον ὢν
 2 ἔμπροσθε παραβαλὼν⁵ εὖροι. ἡ δὲ δὴ Ἀφρική ἦν μὲν οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ φίλη τῷ Καίσαρι, μετὰ δὲ δὴ τὸν τοῦ Κουρίωνος θάνατον καὶ πάννυ ἐχθρὰ ἐγένετο. ὃ τε γὰρ Οὐᾶρος καὶ ὁ Ἰόβας τὰ πράγματα εἶχον, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὁ Κάτων καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων οἳ τε ἄλλοι οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν ὄντες ἐκείσε, ὥσπερ εἶπον, συγκατέφυγον,
 3 καὶ τούτου κοινωσάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον τά τε ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἐξηρτύσαντο καὶ τῇ τε Σικελίᾳ καὶ τῇ Σαρδοῦ ἐπίπλους ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ τάς τε πόλεις ἐλύπουν καὶ τὰ πλοῖα κατήγον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὄπλα τὸν τε σίδηρον τὸν ἄλλον, οὐπὲρ
 4 πον καὶ μόνου ἔχρηζον, ἐπόριζον,⁶ τελευτῶντές τε ἐς τοῦτο καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τῆς διανοίας, οἷα μήτε στρατοῦ σφίσιν ἐναντιούμενον καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν τε τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει χρονίσαντος, ἀφίκοντο ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὸν Πομπήϊον ἀποστεῖλαι. στασιάζειν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ ἐκείνον ἐτοίμως ἄτε τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ Μάγνου παῖδα ὄντα

¹ ἐκ supplied by Reim.

² στρατείαις H. Steph., στρατιαῖς L.

³ ἐκλογίζοιτο R. Steph., ἐκλογίσοιτο L.

⁴ ἂν supplied by Bk.

⁵ παραβαλὼν R. Steph., παραβάλλων L.

⁶ ἐπόριζον supplied by Bs.

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in. And he met with no little success from this B.C. 47
very circumstance, by attacking his opponents unexpectedly. On all occasions, indeed, he accomplished a great deal by his rapidity and by the unexpectedness of his movements, so that if any one should try to find out what it was that made him so superior in the art of war to his contemporaries, he would find by careful comparison that there was nothing more striking than this very characteristic. Now Africa had not been friendly to Caesar in the first place, and after Curio's death it became thoroughly hostile. For Varus and Juba were in charge of affairs, and furthermore Cato, Scipio and their followers had all taken refuge there, as I have stated.¹ After this they made common cause in the war, carried on their preparations by land, and also made descents by sea upon Sicily and Sardinia, harrying their cities and taking back their ships, from which they obtained a plentiful supply of arms and of iron in other forms, which alone they lacked. Finally they reached such a state of preparedness and courage that, when no army opposed them and Caesar delayed in Egypt and the capital, they sent Pompey to Spain. For on learning that that country was in revolt they thought that the people would readily receive him as the son

¹ Ch. 13, 4.

- ὀέξεσθαι¹ νομίσαντες, παρεσκευάζοντο ὁ μὲν ὡς
 τήν τε² Ἰβηρίαν διὰ βραχέων κατασχέσων καὶ
 πρὸς τὸ ἄστν ἐκείθεν ὀρμήσων, οἱ δὲ ὡς τὸν πλοῦν
 57 ἅμα τὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ποιησόμενοι. κατ' ἀρχὰς
 μὲν γὰρ διατριβή τις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, τοῦ τε Οὐάρου
 τῷ³ Σκιπίωνι τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητήσαντος,
 ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς ἐκ πλείονος ἐν τοῖς ταύτῃ χωρίοις
 ἦρχε, καὶ τοῦ Ἰόβου τῇ νίκῃ ἐπαιρομένου καὶ
 2 τὰ πρῶτα δι' αὐτὴν ἀξιούντος φέρεσθαι· συμ-
 φρονήσαντες δὲ⁴ ὁ τε Σκιπίων καὶ ὁ Κάτων, οἷα
 ὁ μὲν τῇ ἀξιώσει ὁ δὲ τῇ συνέσει πολὺ πάντων
 σφῶν προήκοντες, τοὺς τε ἄλλους προσεποιή-
 σαντο καὶ ἐκείνους ἔπεισαν τῷ Σκιπίωνι πάντα
 ἐπιτρέψαι. ὁ γὰρ Κάτων δυνηθεὶς ἂν ἐξ ἴσου
 3 αὐτῷ ἢ καὶ μόνος ἄρξαι οὐκ ἠθέλησε, τὸ μὲν
 ὅτι βλαβερώτατον τοῖς τοιούτοις ἡγεῖτο εἶναι.
 τὸ δὲ ὅτι τῷ πολιτικῷ ἀξιώματι ἡλαττοῦτο
 αὐτοῦ· πολὺ γὰρ ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς στρατιω-
 τικοῖς ἐώρα δυνάμενον τὸ τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ νόμφ
 δὴ τινι τῶν ἄλλων προκεκρίσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ἐκὼν αὐτῷ παρεχώρησε, καὶ προσέτι
 4 καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἃ ἐπηγάγετο παρέδωκε. καὶ ὁ
 μὲν ἐκ τούτου τήν τε Οὐτικήν, ὑποπτευθεῖσαν τὰ
 τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονεῖν καὶ ὀλίγον καὶ ἀνάστατον
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενομένην, ἐξαιτησά-
 μενος ἐς φυλακὴν ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ τὴν χώραν
 τήν τε θάλασσαν τὴν ταύτῃ πᾶσαν φρουρεῖν
 ἐπετρέπη· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὁ Σκιπίων αὐτοκράτωρ
 5 ἦρχε. καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα πολὺ πάντας

¹ δέξεσθαι Reim., δέξασθαι L.² ὡς τήν τε Rk., ὥστε τὴν L⁴ δὲ Reim., γὰρ L.³ τῷ Leuncl., τῷ τε L.

BOOK XLII

of Pompey the Great, and while he was making preparations to occupy Spain in a short time and to set out from there to the capital, the others were getting ready to make the voyage to Italy. At first they experienced a slight delay, due to a dispute between Varus and Scipio about the leadership, inasmuch as the former had held sway for a longer time in these regions, and Juba also, elated by his victory, demanded that he should have first place because of it. But Scipio and Cato, who far excelled them all in rank and in shrewdness respectively, reached an agreement and won the rest over to it, persuading them to entrust everything to Scipio. For Cato, who might have commanded on equal terms with him, or even alone, refused, first, because he thought it a most injurious course in such circumstances, and second, because he was inferior to the other in official rank. He saw that in military matters even more than elsewhere it was very important that the commander should have some legal precedence over the others, and therefore he willingly yielded him the command and furthermore delivered to him the armies that he had brought there. After this Cato interceded on behalf of Utica, which was suspected of favouring Caesar's cause and had come near being destroyed by the others on this account, and thus he received it to guard, and the whole country and sea in that vicinity were entrusted to his protection. The other districts were governed by Scipio as commander-in-chief. His very name was a source

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τοὺς ὁμογνωμονοῦντάς οἱ ἐπερρώννυε, νομίζοντας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἀλόγῳ τινὶ πίστει μηδένα ἂν Σκιπίωνα ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ κακῶς πρᾶξαι.

- 58 Μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι καὶ οἱ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύοντες πεπεισμένοι τε αὐτὸ οὕτως ἔχειν εἰσὶ καὶ φοβοῦνται, προσπαρέλαβέ τινα ἕκ τε τοῦ γένους τοῦ τῶν Σκιπιῶνων ὄντα καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ταύτην φέροντα
- 2 (ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ Σαλοντίων¹), καὶ οὕτω τὸν τε πλοῦν πρὸς Ἀδρυμῆτον ἐποίησατο (τὰ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Οὐτικῇ ἰσχυρῶς ἐφρουρεῖτο), καὶ ἔλαθεν αὐτοὺς ἀνέλπιστος ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος περαιωθεῖς. ἐκβάντι δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς νεῶς συντυχία τοιάδε ἐγένετο, ὑφ' ἧς εἰ καὶ τι φοβερὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου σφίσιν ἐσημαίνετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτό
- 3 γὰρ ἐκεῖνο ἐς ἀγαθὸν ἔτρεψεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἅμα τῷ τῆς γῆς ἐπιβῆναι προσέπταισε, καὶ αὐτὸν πεσόντα ἐπὶ στόμα οἱ στρατιῶται ἰδόντες ἠθύμησαν καὶ δυσανασχετήσαντες ἐθορύβησαν, οὐ διηπορήθη, ἀλλ' ἐκτείνας τὸ χεῖρε² τὴν τε γῆν, ὥς καὶ ἐκὼν δὴ πεσὼν, περιέλαβε καὶ κατεφίλησε, καὶ ἀναβοήσας εἶπεν “ἔχω σε,
- 4 Ἀφρικῇ.” ἐκ δὲ τούτου προσέβαλε μὲν τῷ Ἀδρυμῆτι, ἀποκρουσθεὶς δὲ καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου βιαίως ἐκβληθεὶς μετέστη πρὸς πόλιν ἑτέραν Ῥούσπινα, καὶ δεχθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν χειμαδιὸν τε ἐν αὐτῇ κατεσκευάσατο, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενος ἐπολέμει.

¹ Σαλοντίων Fabr., σαλάττων L.

² τὸ χεῖρε v Herw., τὴν χεῖρα L Xiph. Bekk. Anecd.

BOOK XLII

of strength to all those who sided with him, since by some strange, unreasonable hope they believed that no Scipio could meet with misfortune in Africa.

When Caesar learned of this and saw that his own soldiers also were persuaded that it was so and were consequently afraid, he added to his retinue a man of the family of the Scipios who bore that name (he was otherwise known as *Salutio*¹), and then made the voyage to Hadrumetum, since the neighbourhood of Utica was strictly guarded; and since his crossing in the winter was unexpected, he escaped the enemy's notice. When he had left his ship, an accident happened to him which, even if some disaster was portended to his expedition by Heaven, he nevertheless turned to a good omen. Just as he was setting foot on land he slipped, and the soldiers, seeing him fall on his face, were disheartened and in their chagrin raised an outcry; Caesar, however, did not lose his presence of mind, but stretching out his hands as if he had fallen on purpose, he embraced and kissed the ground, crying out: "I have thee, Africa!" Thereupon he made an assault upon Hadrumetum, but was repulsed and actually driven out of his camp by main force. Then he transferred his position to another city called Ruspina, and being received by the inhabitants, established his winter quarters there and proceeded to carry on the war from that base.

¹ Or *Salvito*; cf. Plutarch, *Caes.* 52, and Suetonius, *Iul.* 59.

BOOK XLIII

Τάδε ἔ. εστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

- α. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Σικιπίωνα καὶ Ἰόβαν ἐνίκησεν.
 β. Ὡς Νουμιδίαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσχον
 γ. Ὡς Κάτων ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν.
 δ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθε καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἔπεμψε καὶ
 τᾶλλα κατεστήσατο.
 ε. Ὡς ἡ τε ἀγορὰ Καίσαρος καὶ ὁ ναὸς ὁ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης
 καθιερώθη.
 ζ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐς τὴν νῦν τρόπον κατεστήσατο.
 η. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Γναῖον Πομπήιον τὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου υἱὸν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ
 ἐνίκησεν
 θ. Ὡς πρῶτον ὕπατοι ἐς οὐχ ὕλον τὸ ἔτος ἀπεδείχθησαν.
 ι. Ὡς Καρχηδῶν καὶ Κόρινθος ἀπφίσθη
 ια. Ὡς οἱ Κερεάλιοι ἀγορανόμοι κατεστάθησαν

Χρόνου πληθὺς ἔτη τρία. ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμυμένοι οἶδε
 ἐγένοντο

Γ. Ἰούλιος Γ. υἱ Καῖσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ γ' ¹
 μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου ἱπάρχου
 καὶ ὕπατος τὸ γ' μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου ²
 Γ. ³ Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ δ'
 μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου ⁴ ἱπάρχου
 καὶ ὕπατος τὸ δ' ὀμόνος
 Γ. ⁵ Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ ε'
 μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου ἱπάρχου
 καὶ ὕπατος τὸ ε' μετὰ Μ. ⁶ Ἀντωνίου

Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραξε, τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει καὶ
 ἐδικτατορέυσεν ἅμα καὶ ὑπάτευσε, τρίτον ἐκά-
 τερον, τοῦ Λεπίδου οἱ ἀμφοτέρωθι ⁷ συνάρξαντος.

¹ τὸ γ' St., τοῦ L.

² L. adds ὑπ. after Λεπίδου and Ἀντωνίου. Deleted by Bs.

³ Γ. Bs., γάιος L.

⁴ Λεπίδου supplied by Bs.

BOOK XLIII

The following is contained in the Forty-third of Diodorus Rome:—

- How Caesar conquered Scipio and Juba (chaps. 1-8)
- How the Romans got possession of Numidia (chap. 9).
- How Cato slew himself (chaps. 10-13)
- How Caesar returned to Rome and celebrated his triumph and settled other matters (chaps. 14-21).
- How the Forum of Caesar and the Temple of Venus were consecrated (chaps. 22-24)
- How Caesar arranged the year in its present fashion (chap. 26)
- How Caesar conquered Gnaeus Pompey, the son of Pompey in Spain (chaps. 28-41)
- How for the first time consuls were appointed for less than an entire year (chap. 46).
- How Carthage and Corinth received colonies (chap. 50)
- How the [*Ardiles*] *Cereales* were appointed (chap. 51).

Duration of time, three years, in which there were the magistrates here enumerated —

^{B.C.}

- 46 C. Julius C. F. Caesar, dictator (III), with Aemilius Lepidus, master of horse, and consul (III) with Aemilius Lepidus.
- 45 C. Julius Caesar, dictator (IV), with Aemilius Lepidus, master of horse, and consul (IV) alone.
- 44 C. Julius Caesar, dictator (V), with Aemilius Lepidus, master of horse, and consul (V) with M. Antonius.

Such were Caesar's experiences at that time. The following year he became both dictator and consul at once, holding each of the offices for the third time, and with Lepidus as his colleague in both

^a G. supplied by Bs

^b M. supplied by Bs.

^c ἀμφοτέρωθι v. Herw., ἀμφοτέρους L.

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- ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δικτάτωρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ἐλέχθη, παραχρῆμά τε αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὴν πλησιαιτέραν ἔστειλε,
- 2 καὶ ἐπανελθόντα ἐπινικίοις, μήτε τινὰς νικήσαντα μήτ' ἀρχὴν μαχεσάμενόν τισιν, ἐτίμησε, πρόφασιν ὅτι τοῖς ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Λογγίνου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ
- 3 Μαρκέλλου πραχθεῖσι παρεγένετο. οὐκ οὐν οὐδὲ ἔπεμφέ τι ἐπ' ἀληθείας, πλὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἅ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐσεσυλήκει. τούτοις τε οὖν αὐτὸν ἡγήλε,¹ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ συνάρχοντα ἐκατέρωθι προσεῖλετο.
- 2 Καὶ αὐτῶν ἀρχόντων ἤδη οἱ τε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐταράχθησαν ὑπὸ σημείων· λύκος τε γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ ὤφθη, καὶ χοῖρος ἐλέφαντι πλὴν τῶν ποδῶν ὅμοιος ἐγεννήθη· καὶ τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ὃ τε Πετρεῖος καὶ ὁ Λαβιῆνος τηρήσαντες τὸν Καίσαρα πρὸς
- 2 κώμας ἐπὶ σῖτον ἐξεληλυθότα, τὴν τε ἵππον αὐτοῦ μηδέπω καλῶς ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐρρωμένην ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς τοῖς Νομάσι κατήραξαν,² καὶ συνταραχθείσης πρὸς τοῦτο τῆς ἀσπίδος πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν χερσὶν ἀπέκτειναν, πάντας δ' αὖ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνειληθέντας ἐπὶ μετέωρόν
- 3 τι ἐξέκοψαν, εἰ μὴ ἰσχυρῶς ἐτρώθησαν. ἐπὶ πλείον δ' οὖν καὶ ὥς, τούτου συμβεβηκότος, τὸν Καίσαρα κατέπληξαν. λογιζόμενος μὲν γὰρ ὡς ὑπὸ ὀλίγων ἔπταισε, προσδεχόμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα τὸν τε Ἰόβαν πάσαις, ὥσπερ ἡγγέλλοντο, ταῖς δυνάμεσιν εὐθὺς ἀφίξεσθαι, διηπόρει
- 4 καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν ὃ τι πράξῃ· τὸν τε γὰρ πόλεμον μηδέπω καλῶς διενεγκεῖν δυνάμενος, καὶ τὴν ἐν

¹ ἡγήλε Xyl., ἡγγελε L.

² κατήραξαν Turneb., κατήρασαν L.

BOOK XLIII

instances. For when he had been named dictator by Lepidus the first time, he had sent him immediately after his praetorship into Hither Spain; and upon his return he had honoured him with a triumph, although Lepidus had conquered no foes nor so much as fought with any, the pretext being that he had been present at the exploits of Longinus and of Marcellus. Accordingly, he sent home nothing, as a matter of fact, except the money he had plundered from the allies. Caesar besides exalting Lepidus with these honours chose him later as his colleague in both the positions mentioned. B.C. 46

When now they were in office, the people of Rome were disturbed by prodigies; for a wolf was seen in the city, and a pig was born resembling an elephant save for its feet. In Africa, Petreius and Labienus, after waiting until Caesar had gone out to villages after grain, drove his cavalry, which had not yet thoroughly recovered its strength after the sea-voyage, back upon the infantry with the aid of the Numidians; and while the latter as a result was in great confusion, they killed many of the soldiers in hand-to-hand fighting. Indeed, they would also have cut down all the others, who had crowded together on some high ground, had they not received grievous wounds themselves. Even so, they alarmed Caesar not a little by this deed. For considering how he had been checked by a few, and expecting, too, that Scipio and Juba would arrive directly with all their forces, as it was reported they would, he was greatly embarrassed and did not know what course to adopt. For he was not yet able to carry through the war to a satisfactory conclusion; and he saw that to

ταὐτῷ μονὴν χαλεπὴν, καὶ οἱ πολέμοι σφω
ἀπέχωνται, διὰ τὴν τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορίαν, τὴν τε
ἀνάστασιν ἀδύνατον τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἐκ τῆς
ἡπείρου καὶ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπικειμένων οἱ ὁρῶν
οὐσαν, ἡθύμει.

- 3 Ἐνταῦθ' οὖν αὐτῷ ὄντι Πούπλιός τις Σίττιος,
εἶγε ἐκείνον ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ δαιμόνιον δεῖ λέγειν, τὴν
τε σωτηρίαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ἔδωκεν.
οὗτος γὰρ ἐξέπεσε μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, παρα-
λαβὼν δὲ συμφυγάδας τινὰς καὶ περαιωθεὶς ἐς
2 Μαυριτανίαν χεῖρά τε ἡθροισε,¹ καὶ παρὰ τῷ
Βόκχῳ στρατηγήσας ἐπεχείρησε τῷ Καίσαρι,
μήτε τινα εὐεργεσίαν αὐτοῦ προέχων μήτ' ἄλλως
ἐν γνώσει οἱ ὄν, τοῦ τε πολέμου συναείρασθαι καὶ
3 τὰ παρόντα συγκατεργάσασθαι. καὶ τούτου
αὐτῷ μὲν ἐκείνῳ οὐκ ἐπήμυνε· πόρρω τε γὰρ
αὐτὸν ἤκουεν ὄντα, καὶ βραχύ τι ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ
(οὐ γὰρ πῶ μεγάλην ἰσχὺν εἶχεν) ὠφελήσεσθαι
ἐνόμιζε· τὸν δὲ δὴ Ἰόβαν ἐκστρατεύσαντα τη-
4 ρησας ἐς τε τὴν Νουμιδίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ταύτην
τε² καὶ τὴν Γαιτουλίαν μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ
οὐσαν ἐλυμήνατο, ὥστε τὸν βασιλέα τῶν τε ἐν
χερσὶν ἀφέσθαι καὶ ἐκ μέσης τῆς ὁδοῦ μετὰ τοῦ
πλείονος στρατοῦ ἀναστρέψαι· ἔστι γὰρ ὃ τι καὶ
5 τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συνέπεμψεν. ἐξ οὐπερ
καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διεφάνη ὅτι εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνος
ἐληλύθει, οὐκ ἂν ποτε αὐτοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀντέσχευ.
οὐκουν οὐδὲ μόνῳ τῷ Σκιπίωνι συμβαλεῖν³ εὐθὺς
ἐτόλμησε· τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας,
τὸ μὲν τι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μάχῃ, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείον ὅτι τὸ

¹ ἡθροισε Bk., ἡτήσας L ² τε Bk., γε I.

³ συμβαλεῖν Bk., συμβάλλειν L.

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stay in the same place was difficult because of the lack of subsistence, even if the foe should leave his troops alone, and that to retire was impossible, with the enemy pressing upon him both by land and by sea. Consequently he was dispirited. B.C. 46

He was still in this position when one Publius Sittius (if, indeed, we ought to say it was he, and not rather Providence) brought to him at one stroke salvation and victory. This man had been exiled from Italy, and taking with him some fellow-exiles and crossing over into Mauretania, he had collected a force and served as general under Bocchus; and although he had previously received no benefit from Caesar, and was not known to him at all, in fact, he undertook to assist him in the war and help him overcome his present difficulties. In pursuance of this plan he did not go to the aid of Caesar himself, for he heard that he was at a distance and thought that his own assistance would prove of small value to him, since he had as yet no large body of troops, but waited, instead, until Juba set out on his expedition, and then he invaded Numidia, harrying it and Gaetulia (a part of Juba's dominion) so completely that the king gave up the matter in hand and turned back in the midst of his march with most of his army; for he also sent a part of it to Scipio at the same time. This fact made it very clear that if Juba had also come up, Caesar could never have withstood the two. Indeed, he did not so much as venture to join issue with Scipio alone at first, because he stood in great dread of the elephants, among other things, partly on account of their fighting abilities, but still more because they

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- 4 ἵππικὸν αὐτοῦ ἐτάρασσον, δεινῶς ἐδεδίει. ἐν φυλακῇ οὖν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς ὅσον ἐδύνατο ποιῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ στρατιώτας τε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ ἐλέφαντας μετεπέμπετο, οὐχ ὥς καὶ ἀξιόμαχόν τι δι' αὐτῶν δράσων (οὐδὲ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἦσαν), ἀλλ' ἵνα οἱ ἵπποι πρὸς τε τὴν ὄψιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν ἐκμελετήσωσιν οὐδὲν ἔτι τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων φοβεῖσθαι.
- 2 Κὰν τούτῳ οἱ τε Γαίτουλοι προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτεροί τινες τῶν πλησιοχώρων, τὰ μὲν δι' ἐκείνους, ἐπειδὴ σφας μεγάλως τιμηθέντας ἤκουσαν, τὰ δὲ καὶ τῇ τοῦ Μαρίου μνήμῃ, ὅτι
- 3 προσήκων αὐτοῦ ἦν. ὥς δὲ ταῦτά τε ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας βραδέως μὲν καὶ ἐπικινδύνως ὑπὸ τε τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περαιωθέντες, ὅμως δ' οὖν ἦλθόν ποτε, οὐκέθ' ἡσύχασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦναντίον ἠπείχθη πρὸς τὴν μάχην, ὅπως πρὶν τὸν Ἰόβαν ἐπελθεῖν
- 4 φθάσῃ τὸν Σκιπίωνα προκατεργασάμενος. καὶ προχωρήσας ἐπ' αὐτὸν πρὸς πόλιν Οὐξζίττα ἐπὶ λόφου τινός, ὑπὲρ τε ἐκείνης καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἅμα αὐτῶν ὄντος, ἰδρύθη, προεκκρούσας¹ τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτόν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο προσπεσόντα οἱ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἀπὸ τε τοῦ μετεώρου ἀπεδίωξε καὶ τοῖς ἵππεύσιν ἐπικαταδραμῶν
- 5 ἐκάκωσε. τοῦτό τε οὖν τὸ χωρίον κατέσχε καὶ ἐντετειχίσατο, καὶ ἕτερον ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς πόλεως, τὸν Λαβιήνον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ² κρατήσας, ἔλαβε· κακὸν τούτου καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἀπετειχίσειεν. ὁ γὰρ Σκιπίων δείσας μὴ προαναλωθῇ, ἐς μάχην μὲν

¹ προεκκρούσας R. Steph., προσεκκρούσας L.

² ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Reim., ἀπ' αὐτοῦ L.

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kept throwing his cavalry into confusion. Therefore, while keeping as strict guard over the camp as he could, he sent to Italy for soldiers and elephants. He did not count on the latter, to be sure, for any considerable military achievement, since there were not many of them, but desired that the horses, by becoming accustomed to the sight and sound of them, should learn to have no further fear of those belonging to the enemy.

Meanwhile the Gaetulians came over to his side, and also some of their neighbours, partly on account of the Gaetulians, since they heard these had been highly honoured, and partly through remembrance of Marius, since Caesar was a relative of his. When this had occurred, and his reinforcements from Italy, in spite of delay and danger due to the winter and the enemy, had at length crossed over, he no longer remained quiet, but, on the contrary, hastened forward to battle, in order to overpower Scipio before Juba's arrival. He moved forward against him in the direction of a city called Uzitta, where he took up his quarters on a crest overlooking both the city and the enemy's camp, having first dislodged those who were holding it. Later, when Scipio attacked him, he drove him away also from the higher ground, and by charging down after him with his cavalry did him some injury. So he held this position and fortified it; and he also took another hill on the other side of the city by defeating Labienus on it, after which he walled off the entire place. For Scipio, fearing his own power might be spent too soon, would no longer risk a

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- 6 οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ ἦει, τὸν δὲ Ἰόβαν μετεπέμπετο, καὶ αὐτῷ, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ὑπήκουέν οἱ, πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντα χαρίσασθαι ὑπέσχετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου τῷ μὲν Σιτιτίῳ ἄλλους ἀντέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα αὐθις ὤρμησεν.
- 5 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπέειρασε μὲν πάντα τρόπον ἐς χεῖρας τὸν Σκιπίωνα ὑπαγαγέσθαι, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ λόγους τε φιλίου ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτοῦ καθῆκε καὶ βιβλία
- 2 βραχέα διέρριψεν, ὑπισχνόμενος δι' αὐτῶν τῷ μὲν ἐπιχωρίῳ τὰ τε οἰκεία ἀκέραια τηρήσειν καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀφήσειν, τῷ δὲ Ῥωμαίῳ τὴν τε ἄδειαν καὶ τὰ γέρα ἅ καὶ τοῖς συνοῦσιν οἱ ὄφειλε δώσειν· καὶ συχνούς γε ἐκ τούτου
- 3 προσεποιήσατο. Σκιπίων δὲ ἐπεχείρησε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ βιβλία καὶ λόγους ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐσβαλεῖν ὥς καὶ σφετερισόμενός τινας, οὐ μέντοι καὶ μεταστήσαι αὐτοὺς ἠδυνήθη, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἂν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου τινὲς ἀνθείλοντο,¹ εἵπερ
- 4 τι τῶν ὁμοίων ἐπηγγέλλετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἄθλον μὲν σφισιν οὐδὲν ὑπισχνεῖτο, τὸν δὲ δὴ δῆμον τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν τε γερουσίαν ἄλλως ἐλευθερώσαι αὐτοὺς παρεκάλει. καὶ οὕτως, ἐν ᾧ δὴ τὰ εὐπρεπέστερα τῷ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ χρησιμώτερα τοῖς παρούσιν ἡρεῖτο, οὐδένα αὐτῶν ὤκνειόσατο.
- 6 Μέχρι μὲν οὖν μόνος ὁ Σκιπίων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἦν, ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐγίγνετο, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰόβας ἐπῆλθεν, ἡλλοιώθη. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ προεκαλοῦντο τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐς μάχην, καὶ μὴ

¹ ἀνθείλοντο Melber, ἀνείλοντο L.

BOOK XLIII

battle with Caesar, but kept sending for Juba ; and when the latter would not obey his summons, Scipio promised to make him a present of all the territory that the Romans had in Africa. Juba then appointed others to take charge of the operations against Sittius and in person once more set out against Caesar. B.C. 40

While this was going on Caesar tried in every way to draw Scipio into conflict. Baffled in this, he made friendly overtures to the latter's soldiers, and distributed among them pamphlets, in which he promised to the native that he would preserve his possessions unharmed and leave the people themselves free, and to the Roman that he would grant him pardon and the same prizes he had offered to his followers. In this way he gained over a goodly number. Scipio in like manner undertook to circulate both pamphlets and verbal offers among his opponents, with a view to winning some to himself; but he was unable to induce them to change sides. This was not because some of them would not have chosen his cause by preference, if any offers similar to Caesar's had been made ; it was due rather to the fact that he did not promise them any prize, but merely urged them to liberate the Roman people and the senate. And so, inasmuch as he chose the course that was more becoming to acknowledge rather than the one that was more expedient for the situation in which he found himself, he failed to gain over any of them.

So long, then, as Scipio alone was in the camp, matters went on thus, but when Juba also came up, the situation was changed. For they both tried to provoke their opponents to battle and harassed them

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when they were unwilling to contend; moreover with their cavalry they inflicted serious injuries upon any of them who were scattered to a distance. But Caesar was not disposed to come to close quarters with them if he could help it. He prevented their walling him in, secured a bare subsistence for his troops, and kept sending for other forces from home. These reached him only after much delay and difficulty, for they had not all been together, but were collected gradually and lacked boats in which to cross in a body. When at length they did reach him and he had added them to his army, he took courage once more and leading out his forces against the foe, arrayed them in front of the intrenchments. Seeing this, his opponents marshalled themselves in turn, but did not join issue with them. This continued for several days. For apart from brief cavalry skirmishes, after which they would retire, neither side risked any movement worth speaking of.

Accordingly, when Caesar perceived that because of the nature of the land he could not force them to engage in conflict unless they chose, he set out for Thapsus, in order that he might either engage them, if they came to the help of the city, or might at least capture the place, if they left it to its fate. Now Thapsus is situated on a kind of peninsula, with the sea stretching along on one side and a lake on the other; the isthmus between them is so narrow and marshy that one reaches the town by two roads, only a little way apart, running along either side of the marsh close to the shore. On his way toward this city Caesar, when he had got inside the narrowest point, proceeded to dig

B.C. 46

- καὶ ῥσταύρου. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδεν πραγμα
αὐτῷ παρείχον (οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀξιόμαχοι), ὁ δὲ
δὴ Σκιπίων καὶ ὁ Ἰόβας ἐπεχείρησαν τὸ στόμυ
τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ, καθ' ὃ πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον τελευτᾷ,
σταυρώμασι καὶ ταφρεύμασι διχῇ διαλαβόντες
8 ἀνταποτειχίσαι. ἐν ἔργῳ δὲ αὐτῶν ὄντων καὶ
πολὺ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀννούντων (ὅπως γάρ
τοι θάσσον διατειχίσωσι, τοὺς τε ἐλέφαντας καθ'
ὃ μηδέπω διετετάφρευτο¹ ἀλλ' εὐέφοδον τι τοῖς
πολεμίοις ἦν προσέταξαν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντες
2 εἰργάζοντο) ἐπέθετο ὁ Καῖσαρ αἰφνίδιον τοῖς
ἐτέροις τοῖς² περὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ τοὺς
ἐλέφαντας πόρρωθεν σφενδόναις καὶ τοξεύμα-
σιν ἐκταράξας ἐφέσπετό τε αὐτοῖς ἀναχωρήσασι,
καὶ παρὰ δόξαν τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις προσμίξας
καὶ ἐκείνους ἐτρέψατο, καὶ σφισι φυγοῦσιν ἐς
3 τὸ ἔρυμα συνεσπεσῶν αὐτοβοεῖ αὐτὸ εἶλεν. ἰδὼν
δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰόβας οὕτως ἐξεπλάγη καὶ ἔδεισεν
ὥς μήτε ἐς χεῖράς τινι ὑπομεῖναι ἐλθεῖν μήτε
4 τὸ στρατόπεδον διὰ φυλακῆς ποιήσασθαι. ἐκεῖνος
μὲν οὖν φυγὼν καὶ οἴκαδε ἐπειχθεὶς, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ
μηδεὶς αὐτόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ Σιττίου τοὺς
ἀντικαταστάντας οἱ προνεκικηκότος, ἐδέξατο,
ἀπέγνω τε τὴν σωτηρίαν, καὶ τῷ Πετρεῖῳ μηδε-
μίαν μὴδ' αὐτῷ ἐλπίδα ἀδείας ἔχοντι ἐμονομά-
9 χησε καὶ συναπέθανε. Καῖσαρ δὲ τό τε σταύ-
ρωμα εὐθύς μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν αὐτοῦ ἔλαβε, καὶ
φόνον πλείστον τῶν προστυχόντων ἀπάντων
σφίσιν ἐποίησεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν μεταστάντων
ἐφέισατο. καὶ τούτου τὰς τε ἄλλας πόλεις

¹ διετετάφρευτο Reim., διετάφρευτο L.² τοῖς supplied by Reim.

BOOK XLIII

a ditch and to erect a palisade. The townspeople caused him no trouble, as they were no match for him; but Scipio and Juba undertook in their turn to wall off the neck of the isthmus, where it comes to an end at the mainland, by running palisades and ditches across from both sides. They were engaged in this work and were making great progress every day (for in order that they might build the walls across more quickly they had stationed the elephants along the portion not yet protected by a ditch and hence easy for the enemy to attack, while on the remaining portions all were working), when Caesar suddenly attacked the men who were with Scipio, and by using slings and arrows from a distance threw the elephants into great confusion. Then as they retreated he not only followed them up, but fell upon the workers unexpectedly and routed them, too; and when they fled into their camp, he dashed in with them and captured it without a blow. Juba, upon seeing this, was so startled and terrified that he ventured neither to come to close quarters with any one nor even to keep the camp under guard; so he fled and hastened homeward. And then, when no one received him, especially since Sittius had already overpowered all opposition, Juba, despairing of safety, fought in single combat with Petreius, who likewise had no hope of pardon, and together they died. Caesar, immediately after Juba's flight, captured the palisade and caused great slaughter among all who came in the way of his troops, sparing not even those who came over to his side. Next he brought the rest of

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- 2 μηδεὺς ἀνθισταμένου παρεστήσατο, καὶ τοὺς Νομάδας λαβὼν ἔς τε τὸ ὑπήκοον ἐπήγαγε καὶ τῷ Σαλουστίῳ λόγῳ μὲν ἄρχειν ἔργῳ δὲ ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν ἐπέτρεψεν. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐδωροδόκησε πολλὰ καὶ ἤρπασεν, ὥστε καὶ κατηγορηθῆναι καὶ ¹ αἰσχύνῃ αἰσχίστην ὀφλεῖν, ² ὅτι τοιαῦτα συγγράμματα συγγράψας καὶ πολλὰ καὶ πικρὰ περὶ τῶν ἐκκαρπουμένων τινὰς εἰπὼν οὐκ ἐμιμήσατο τῷ ἔργῳ τοὺς λόγους. ὅθεν εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀφείθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς γε ἑαυτὸν καὶ πάνυ τῇ συγγραφῇ ἐστηλοκόπησε.
- 4 Τοῦτό τε οὖν οὕτως ἐγένετο, καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν περὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα, ὃ δὴ καὶ Ἀφρικὴν καλοῦμεν, παλαιόν, ὅτι ἐκ πολλοῦ κατείργαστο, τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν Νομάδων νέον, ὅτι
- 5 νεωστὶ εἴληπτο, ἐπωνομάσθη. Σκιπίων δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς μάχης ἔφυγε, καὶ πλοίου ἐπιτυχὼν ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πρὸς τε τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπῆρεν, ἐκπεσὼν δὲ ἐς τὴν Μαυριτανίαν καὶ τὸν Σίττιον φοβηθεὶς ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο.
- 10 Ὁ τε Κάτων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συγκαταφυγόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλῶν παρεσκευάζετο τῶν τε πραγμάτων ἀντιλαβέσθαι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τρόπον τινὰ ἀμύνασθαι. ³ ὥς δὲ οἱ τε Οὐτικήσιοι,
- 2 ἅτε μηδὲ ἐν τῷ πρὶν ἐχθρωδῶς τῷ Καίσαρι ἔχοντες καὶ τότε νενικηκότα αὐτὸν ὀρώντες, οὐκ ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας τῶν τε ἱππέων παρόντες ἐφοβήθησαν μὴ συλληφθῶσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δρασμὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐτ' ἀντιπολεμῆσαι (οὐδὲ ⁴ γὰρ οἶός τε ἦν) οὐτ'

¹ καὶ supplied by Xyl.

² ὀφλεῖν Bs., ὀφλῆσαι L.

³ ἀμύνασθαι Pflugk, ἀμύνεσθαι L.

⁴ οὐδὲ Bk., οὐτε L.

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the cities to terms, meeting with no opposition ; and taking over the Numidians, he reduced them to the status of subjects, and delivered them to Sallust, nominally to rule, but really to harry and plunder. At all events this officer took many bribes and confiscated much property, so that he was not only accused but incurred the deepest disgrace, inasmuch as after writing such treatises as he had, and making many bitter remarks about those who fleeced others, he did not practice what he preached. Therefore, even if he was completely exonerated by Caesar, yet in his history, as upon a tablet, the man himself had chiselled his own condemnation all too well. B C 46

This affair, then, turned out thus. As for these districts in Libya, the region surrounding Carthage, which we also call Africa, was called the old province, because it had long ago been subjugated, whereas the region of the Numidians was called the new province, because it had been newly captured. Scipio, who had fled from the battle, chanced upon a ship and set sail for Spain to go to Pompey. But he was cast ashore in Mauretania, and through fear of Sittius made away with himself.

Cato, since many had sought refuge with him, was at first preparing to take a hand in affairs and to resist Caesar as best he might. But the people of Utica had not been hostile to Caesar in the first place, and now, seeing him victorious, would not listen to Cato ; and the members of the senate and the knights who were present were afraid of being arrested by them, and so meditated flight. Cato himself, therefore, decided neither to war against Caesar,

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- 3 αὐτὸ προσχωρήσαι¹ τῷ Καίσαρι ἔγνω, οὐχ ὅτι τι ἐδεδίει (καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίστατο καὶ πάνυ ἀν σπουδάσαντα αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ, τῆς ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπία δόξης ἕνεκα, φείσασθαι), ἀλλ' ὅτι τῆς τε ἐλευθερίας ἰσχυρῶς ἦρα, καὶ ἠττᾶσθαι οὐδενὸς ἐς οὐδέν² ἐβούλετο, τοῦ τε θανάτου πολὺ τὸν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔλεον χαλεπώτερον ἡγεῖτο εἶναι.
- 4 συγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς παρόντας τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ διερωτήσας ὅποι ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὥρμηται, ἐκείνους μὲν μετ' ἐφοδίων ἐξέπεμψε, τῷ δὲ νιεί πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐλθεῖν ἐκέλευσε. πυθομένου τε τοῦ νεανίσκου “διὰ τί οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ σὺ τοῦτο ποιεῖς;”
- 5 ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ ὅτι “ἐγὼ μὲν ἔν τε ἐλευθερία καὶ ἐν παρρησίᾳ τραφεὶς οὐ δύναμαι τὴν δουλείαν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐπὶ γήρως μεταμαθεῖν· σοὶ δ' ἐν τοιαύτῃ καταστάσει καὶ γεννηθέντι καὶ τραφέντι τὸν δαίμονα τὸν λαχόντα σε θεραπεύειν προσήκει.”
- 11 Ταῦτ' οὖν πράξας, καὶ τοῖς Οὐτικησίοις τὴν τε διοίκησιν ἀπολογισάμενος³ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ χρήματα τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα αὐτῶν εἶχεν ἀποδοῦς, προαπαλαγῆναι πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφίξεως ἠθέλησε.
- 2 καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν οὐκ ἐπεχείρησε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· ὃ τε γὰρ υἱὸς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντες φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ εἶχον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐσπέρα ἐγένετο, ξιφιδίον τέ τι κρύφα ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ὑπέθηκε, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος βιβλίον τὸ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον ἤτησε,
- 3 εἴτ' οὖν πόρρω τῆς ὑποψίας τοῦ τι τοιοῦτο βουλευσασθαι τοὺς παρόντας ἀπαγαγεῖν σπουδᾶ-

¹ προσχωρήσαι H. Steph., προχωρήσαι L.

² οὐδενὸς ἐς οὐδέν R. Steph., ἐς οὐδενὸς οὐδέν L.

³ ἀπολογισάμενος Bk., ἀπολογησάμενος L.

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being unable to do so anyhow, nor yet to go over to his side. This was not because of any fear, since he understood well enough that Caesar would be very eager to spare him for the sake of his reputation for humanity; but it was because he passionately loved freedom, and would not brook any defeat at the hands of anybody, and regarded Caesar's pity as far more hateful than death. So he called together the citizens who were present, enquired where each one of them was intending to go, sent them forth with supplies for their journey, and bade his son go to Caesar. To the youth's inquiry, "Why, then, do you also not do so?" he replied: "I, who have been brought up in freedom, with the right of free speech, cannot in my old age change and learn slavery instead; but for you, who were both born and brought up amid such a condition, it is proper to serve the divinity that presides over your fortunes."

When he had done this and had given to the people of Utica an account of his administration and returned to them the surplus funds, as well as whatever else of theirs he had, he wished to be rid of life before Caesar's arrival. He did not undertake to do this by day, inasmuch as his son and others surrounding him kept him under surveillance; but when evening was come, he secretly slipped a dagger under his pillow, and asked for Plato's book *On the Soul*.¹ This was either in the endeavour to divert those present from the suspicion that he had any

¹ The *Phaedo*.

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- σας, ὅπως ὥς ἥκιστα παρατηρηθῇ, εἴτε καὶ
 παραμύθιον τι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ἐκ τῆς ἀναγνώ-
 σεως αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἐπιθυμήσας. ὥς δὲ ἐκεῖνό τε
 4 ἀνελέξατο καὶ ἡ νύξ ἐμέσου,¹ τό τε ἐγχειρίδιον
 ὑφέιλκυσε,² καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γαστέρα παῖσας
 εὐθὺς ἂν ἐτελεύτησεν ἕξαιμος γενόμενος, εἰ μὴ
 καταπεσὼν ἐκ τοῦ σκιμποδίου ψόφον τε ἐποίησε
 καὶ τοὺς προκοιτοῦντας³ ἐξήγειρε. καὶ οὕτως ὁ
 τε υἱὸς καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἐσπεσόντες τά τε ἔντερα
 αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα αὐθις κατέσαξαν⁴ καὶ
 5 θεραπείαν αὐτῷ προσήγαγον. καὶ οἱ μὲν τό τε
 ξιφίδιον ἦραν καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐκλείσαν, ὅπως ὕπνου
 λάχῃ (οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλως πως ἀποθανεῖν
 αὐτὸν προσεδόκησαν). ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐς τε τὸ τραῦμα
 τὰς χεῖρας ἐνέβαλε καὶ τὰς ῥαφὰς αὐτοῦ διαρ-
 ρήσας ἀπέψυξεν.
 6 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κάτων καὶ δημοτικώτατος καὶ
 ἰσχυρογνωμονέστατος⁵ πάντων τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν
 ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος μεγάλην δόξαν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
 τοῦ θανάτου ἔλαβεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐπωνυμίαν Οὐτική-
 σιος, ὅτι τε ἐν τῇ Οὐτικῇ οὕτως ἐτελεύτησε καὶ
 12 ὅτι δημοσίᾳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐτάφη, κτήσασθαι· ὁ δὲ δὴ
 Καῖσαρ ἐκείνῳ μὲν ὀργίζεσθαι ἔφη ὅτι οἱ τῆς ἐπὶ
 τῇ σωτηρίᾳ αὐτοῦ εὐκλείας ἐφθόνησε, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πλείους ἀφῆκεν, ὥσπερ
 εἴθιστο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς οἱ δὲ καὶ ὕστερον, ὅπως
 ἀμβλυτέρῳ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου γενομένῳ προσ-

¹ ἐμέσου Bk., ἐμεσοῦτο L.

² ὑφέιλκυσε Dind., ἐφέιλκυσε L.

³ προκοιτοῦντας R. Steph., προσκοιτοῦντας L.

⁴ κατέσαξαν Naber, κατέταξαν L.

⁵ καὶ ἰσχυρογνωμονέστατος Rk., καὶ ἰσχυρότατος καὶ ἰσχυρο-
 γνωμονέστατος L.

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such purpose in mind, in order to be observed as little as possible, or else in the desire to obtain some consolation in respect to death from the reading of it. When he had read the work through and it was now near midnight, he drew forth the dagger, and smote himself upon the belly. He would have died immediately from loss of blood, had he not in falling from the low couch made a noise and roused those who were keeping guard before his door. Thereupon his son and some others who rushed in put his bowels back into his belly again, and brought medical attendance for him. Then they took away the dagger and locked the doors, that he might obtain sleep; for they had no idea of his perishing in any other way. But he thrust his hands into the wound and broke the stitches of it, and so expired. B.C. 46

Thus Cato, who had proved himself at once the most democratic and the strongest-minded of all the men of his time, acquired great glory even from his very death and obtained the title of Uticensis, both because he had died in Utica, as described, and because he was publicly buried by the inhabitants. Caesar declared that he was angry with him, because Cato had begrudged him the distinction of saving such a man, and he released his son and most of the others, as was his custom; for they came over to him of their own accord, some at once, and others later, so as to approach him after time should have

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- 2 ἔλθωσιν, ἐθελονταὶ προσεχώρησαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐσώθησαν, Ἀφράνιος δὲ καὶ Φαῦστος ἐκόντες μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτόν (καὶ γὰρ εὖ ᾔδεσαν ἀπολόμενοι), φυγόντες δὲ ἐς Μαυριτανίαν συνελήφθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σιττίου. καὶ ἐκείνους μὲν ἀκρίτους ὁ
- 3 Καῖσαρ ὥς καὶ αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέσφαξεν· τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα τὸν Λούκιον, καίπερ ἐν γένει οἱ ὄντα καὶ ἐθελούσιον ἱκετεύσαντα, ὅμως ἐπειδὴ διὰ παντὸς αὐτῷ προσεπεπολεμήκει, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀποδικῆσαι ἐκέλευσεν ὥστε ἐν δίκῃ τινὶ κατεψηφίσθαι αὐτοῦ δόξαι, ἔπειτα δὲ ὀκνήσας αὐτὸν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φωνῇ θανατῶσαι τότε μὲν ἀνεβάλετο,¹
- 13 ὕστερον δὲ καὶ κρύφα ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ γὰρ τῶν συνόντων οἱ τοὺς οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύουσιν τοὺς μὲν πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων οὐκ ἀκουσίως ἀπέβαλλε,² τοὺς δὲ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν σφετέρων ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἐν
- 2 αὐταῖς ταῖς μάχαις ἀπόλλυσθαι ἐποίει. οὐ γάρ τοι καὶ φανερώς πᾶσι τοῖς λυπήσασί τι αὐτόν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐπεξῆρει, ἀλλ' ὅσους μηδενὶ ἀξιόχρεω ἐγκλήματι μετελθεῖν ἐδύνατο, ἐν τρόπῳ δὴ τινι ἀφανεῖ ὑπεξῆρει, καίτοι τότε τὰ γράμματα, ὅσα ἐν τοῖς ἀπορρήτοις τοῦ Σκιπίωνος κιβωτίοις
- 3 εὑρέθη, πάντα καύσας πρὶν ἀναγνῶναι, καὶ τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων οἱ πολλοὺς μὲν δι' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ διὰ τοὺς φίλους σώσας· τῶν τε γὰρ συναγωνιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων³

¹ ἀνεβάλετο R. Steph., ἀνεβάλλετο L.

² ἀπέβαλλε Cobet, ἀπεβάλλετο L.

³ ἐταίρων R. Steph., ἐτέρων L.

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blunted his anger. So these were spared; but Afranius and Faustus would not come to him of their own free will, feeling sure of being put to death, but fled to Mauretania, where they were captured by Sittius. Caesar put them to death, as captives,¹ without a trial; but in the case of Lucius Caesar, though the man was related to him and came as a voluntary suppliant, nevertheless, since he had fought against him throughout, he at first bade him stand trial, so that he might seem to have condemned him with some show of legality, and then, as he shrank from putting him to death by his own vote, he postponed the trial for the time being, but afterward killed him secretly. Indeed, even in the case of those of his own followers who did not suit him he willingly lost some at the hands of the enemy and deliberately caused others to perish in the midst of the fighting at the hands of their own comrades. For, as I have said, he did not attack openly all who had injured him, but any whom he could not prosecute on a plausible charge he quietly put out of the way in some obscure fashion. And yet on this occasion he burned unread all the papers that were found in the private chests of Scipio, while of the men who had fought against him he spared many for their own sake, and many also for the sake of their friends. For, as I have stated, he always allowed each of his soldiers

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¹ It was Caesar's regular custom to spare those who were taken captive for the first time, but to put them to death if they were captured again (cf. xli. 62, xlii. 17, xlii. 45 f.; Suet. *Iul* 75). Hence some would read here "as captives for the second time" (*ὡς καὶ πρὶν*, or *ὡς δὲς, αἰχμαλώτους*). But, as Boissvain points out, the contrast here is merely between captives and a voluntary suppliant.

- ἐκάστω ἓνα ἐξαιτεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἐπέτρεπε.
 4 καὶ δὴ¹ καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα ἔσωσεν ἄν' οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐτεθαυμάκει² ὥστε τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐγκώμιον μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ γράψαντος ἀγανακτῆσαι μὲν μηδέν, καίπερ καὶ ἐκείνου οἱ προσπολεμήσαντος, βιβλίον δέ τι γράφαι ὃ Ἀντικάτωνα ἐπεκάλεσε.
- 14 Καίσαρ μὲν ταῦτά τε πράξας, καὶ τοὺς ἀφηλικεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν παραχρήμα καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθῆναι, μὴ καὶ στασιάσωσιν αὐτοῖς, ἀπαλλάξας, τὰ τε ἄλλα
 2 τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ διὰ βραχείος, ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα, καταστήσας, μέχρι μὲν τῆς Σαρδοῦς παντὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ ἔπλευσεν, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐκείνους μὲν ἐς τε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον μετὰ Γαίου Διδίου ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθη, τὸ μὲν πλείστον ἐπὶ³ τῇ τῶν ἔργων λαμπρότητι, ἥδη δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τῇ βουλῇ
 3 δόξασι μεγαλοφρονούμενος. τεσσαράκοντά τε γὰρ ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ αὐτοῦ θύειν ἔγνωσαν, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια τὰ προεψηφισμένα ἐπὶ τε λευκῶν ἵππων καὶ μετὰ ῥαβδούχων τῶν τε⁴ τότε αὐτῷ συνόντων καὶ ἐτέρων ὅσοις ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ δικτατορίᾳ ἐκέχρητο, ἄλλων τε αὖ ὅσους ἐν τῇ
 4 δευτέρᾳ ἐσχέκει, πέμψαι οἱ ἔδοσαν. τῶν τε τρόπων τῶν ἐκάστου ἐπιστάτην (οὕτω γὰρ πως⁵ ὠνομάσθη ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀξίας αὐτοῦ τῆς τοῦ τιμητοῦ προσρήσεως οὔσης) ἐς τρία αὐτὸν ἔτη καὶ δικ-
 5 τάτορα ἐς δέκα ἐφεξῆς εἴλοντο. καὶ προσέτι

¹ δὴ Bk., τοι L.² ἐτεθαυμάκει Bk., ἀνατεθαυμάκει L.³ ἐπὶ supplied by Bk.⁴ τε supplied by Bk.⁵ πως R. Steph., πω L.

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and companions to ask the life of one man. In fact he would have spared Cato, too; for he had conceived such an admiration for him that when Cicero subsequently wrote an encomium of Cato he was not at all vexed, although Cicero had likewise warred against him, but merely wrote a short treatise which he entitled "Anticato." B.C. 46

Immediately after these events and before he crossed into Italy Caesar got rid of the older men among his soldiers for fear they might mutiny again. He arranged other matters in Africa just as rapidly as was feasible and sailed as far as Sardinia with his whole fleet. From that point he sent the dismissed troops along with Gaius Didius into Spain against Pompey, and he himself returned to Rome, priding himself particularly upon the brilliance of his achievements, but also upon the decrees of the senate as well. For they had voted that sacrifices should be offered for his victory during forty days, and had granted him permission to ride, in the triumph already voted him, in a chariot drawn by white horses and to be accompanied by all the victors who were then with him, and by as many others as he had employed in his first dictatorship, together with as many more as he had had in his second. Furthermore, they elected him overseer of every man's conduct¹ (for some such name was given him, as if the title of censor were not worthy of him) for three years, and dictator for ten in succession.

¹ *Praefectus moribus* (Cic., *ad Fam.* ix. 15, 5).

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- ἐπὶ τε ἀρχικοῦ δίφρου μετὰ τῶν αἰεὶ ὑπάτων
ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καθίζειν καὶ γνώμην αἰεὶ πρῶτον
ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ἔν τε ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις ἀπάσαις
ἀποσημαίνειν, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα
τισὶν ὁ δῆμος πρότερον¹ ἔνεμεν² ἀποδεικνύναι
6 ἐψηφίσαντο. ἄρμα τέ τι αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Καπι-
τωλίῳ ἀντιπρόσωπον τῷ Διὶ ἰδρυθῆναι, καὶ ἐπὶ
εἰκόνα αὐτὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης χαλκοῦν ἐπιβι-
βασθῆναι, γραφὴν ἔχοντα ὅτι ἡμίθεός ἐστι, τό
τε ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀντὶ τοῦ
Κατοῦλου, ὡς³ καὶ τὸν νεῶν, ἐφ' οὗ τῇ ἐκποιήσει
εὐθύνην ἐκείνων ἐπεχείρησεν, ἐκτελέσαντος, ἀντεγ-
7 γραφῆναι ἐκέλευσαν. ταῦτα δὲ μόνα κατέλεξα
οὐχ ὅτι καὶ μόνα ἐψηφίσθη (παμπληθῇ τε γὰρ
ἐσεφέρετο καὶ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἐκυροῦτο) ἀλλ'
ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρήκατο, ταῦτα δὲ προσε-
δέξατο.
- 15 Δεδογμένων δὲ ἤδη αὐτῶν ἡλθέ τε ἐς τὴν
Ῥώμην, καὶ ἰδὼν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὴν τε δύναμιν
αὐτοῦ φοβουμένους καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ὑποτοπου-
μένους, καὶ τούτου πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, οἶά που
καὶ πρὶν ἐγεγόνει, πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶντας, καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπερόγκους οἱ τιμὰς κολακεῖα
2 ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐνοίᾳ ἐψηφισμένους, παρεμυθήσατό
τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπήλπισεν εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ
τοιαύδε·
- “Μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ πατέρες, προσδοκήσῃ μήτε
ἐρεῖν με χαλεπὸν μηδὲν μήτε πράξειν, ὅτι καὶ
νενίκηκα καὶ δύναμαι πᾶν μὲν ὅ τι ἂν ἐβελήσω

¹ πρότερον Bk., πρῶτον L.

² ἔνεμεν R. Steph., ἐνέμεινεν L.

³ ὡς Xyl., γραφῆναι ὡς L.

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They moreover voted that he should sit in the senate upon the curule chair with the successive consuls, and should always state his opinion first, that he should give the signal at all the games in the Circus, and that he should have the appointment of the magistrates and whatever honours the people were previously accustomed to assign. And they decreed that a chariot of his should be placed on the Capitol facing the statue of Jupiter, that his statue in bronze should be mounted upon a likeness of the inhabited world, with an inscription to the effect that he was a demigod, and that his name should be inscribed upon the Capitol in place of that of Catulus on the ground that he had completed this temple after undertaking to call Catulus to account for his building of it.¹ These are the only measures I have recorded, not because they were the only ones voted, —for a great many measures were proposed and of course passed,—but because he declined the rest, whereas he accepted these.

When these decrees had now been passed, he entered Rome, and perceiving that the people were afraid of his power and suspicious of his proud bearing and consequently expected to suffer many terrible evils such as had taken place before, and realizing that it was on this account that they had voted him extravagant honours, through flattery and not through good-will, he endeavoured to encourage them and to inspire them with hope by the following speech delivered in the senate :

“Let none of you, Conscript Fathers, suppose that I shall make any harsh proclamation or do any cruel deed merely because I have conquered and am able

¹ See xxxvii. 44, 1.

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- ἀνεύθυνος εἰπεῖν, πᾶν δ' ὃ τι ἂν βουλευθῶ μετ'
 3 ἐξουσίας δρᾶσαι. μὴ μέντοι μηδ' ὅτι καὶ Μάριος
 καὶ Κίννας καὶ Σύλλας, οἳ τε ἄλλοι πάντες ὡς
 εἰπεῖν ὅσοι πώποτε τοὺς ἀντιστασιάσαντάς σφισιν
 ἐκράτησαν, ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐπιχειρήσεσι τῶν πρα-
 γμάτων πολλὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα καὶ εἶπον καὶ
 4 ἔπραξαν, ἐξ ὧν οὐχ ἥκιστα προσαγαγόμενοί¹
 τινες μάλιστα μὲν συμμάχοις αὐτοῖς, εἰ δὲ μή,
 οὐκ ἀνταγωνισταῖς γε ἐχρήσαντο, νικήσαντες
 δὲ καὶ ἐγκρατεῖς ὧν ἐπεθύμουν γενόμενοι πολὺ
 τᾶναντία ἐκείνων καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ἔπραξαν,
 καὶ ἐμέ τις ὑπολάβῃ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιήσῃν.
 5 οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως πῶς πεφυκῶς ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν
 ἔμπροσθε χρόνον προσποιητῶς ὑμῖν ἐνωμίλησα,
 νῦν δέ, ὅτι ἔξεστιν, ἀσφαλῶς θρασύνομαι· οὐτ'
 αὖ ὑπὸ τῆς πολλῆς εὐπραγίας ἐξήγγμαι καὶ
 τετύφωμαι ὥστε καὶ τυραννῆσαι ὑμῶν ἐπιθυμή-
 σαι (ταῦτα γὰρ ἔμοιγε ἀμφοτέρω καὶ τό γε ἕτερον
 6 αὐτῶν ἐκείνοι παθεῖν δοκοῦσιν)· ἀλλ' εἰμί τε
 τῇ φύσει τοιοῦτος ὁποίου μου ἀεὶ πεπείρασθε
 (τί γὰρ δεῖ με καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεξιόντα ἐπαχθῆ,
 ὡς καὶ ἐμαντὸν ἐπαινοῦντα, γενέσθαι;) καὶ τὴν
 τύχην οὐκ ἂν προπηλακίσαιμι, ἀλλ' ὅσῳ μᾶλλον
 ἀγαθῆς αὐτῆς πεπείραμαι, τόσῳ μᾶλλον πρὸς
 7 πάντα μετρίως² αὐτῇ χρήσομαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ'
 ἐπ' ἄλλο τι τοσοῦτό τ'³ ἰσχύσαι καὶ τηλικούτον
 αὐξηθῆναι ἐσπούδασα ὥστε πάντας μὲν τοὺς
 ἀντιπολεμήσαντας κολάσασθαι πάντας δὲ τοὺς
 ἀντιστασιάσαντας νουθετῆσαι, ἣ ἵνα καὶ ἀνδρα-
 γαθίζεσθαι ἀσφαλῶς καὶ εὐτυχεῖν εὐκλεῶς δύνω-

¹ προσαγαγόμενοί Bk., προσαγόμενοι L.

² μετρίως Bs., κρείττω L.

³ τ' Rk., τι L.

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to say whatever I please without being called to account, and to do with full liberty whatever I choose. It is true that Marius and Cinna and Sulla and practically all the others who ever triumphed over the factions opposed to them said and did many benevolent things in the beginning of their undertakings, largely as the result of which they attracted men to their side, thus securing, if not their active support, at least their abstention from opposition; and then, after conquering and becoming masters of the ends they sought, adopted a course diametrically opposed to their former stand both in word and in deed. Let no one, however, assume that I shall act in this same way. For I have not associated with you in former time under a disguise, while possessing in reality some different nature, only to become emboldened in security now that that is possible; nor have I become so elated or puffed up by my great good fortune as to desire also to play the tyrant over you—both of which experiences, or at least one of them, seem to me to have come to those men whom I mentioned. No, I am in nature the same sort of man as you have always found me—but why go into details and become offensive as praising myself?—and I would not think of insulting Fortune, but the more I have enjoyed her favours, the more moderately will I use her in every way. For I have had no other motive in striving to secure so great power and to rise to such a height that I might punish all active foes and admonish all those of the other faction, than that I might be able to play a man's part without danger and to obtain prosperity

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- 16 **μαι.**¹ οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως καλὸν ἢ δίκαιον, ὅσα
 τις τοῖς διχογνωμονήσασιν ἐπεκάλεσε, ταῦτα
 αὐτὸν ποιοῦντα ἐξελεγχθῆναι· οὔτ' ἂν ἔγωγε
 ἀξιῶσαιμί ποτε, τῇ τῶν ἔργων ζηλώσει ὁμοιωθεὶς
 αὐτοῖς, μόνῃ τῇ τῆς παντελοῦς νίκης φήμῃ
 2 **διαλλάξαι.** τίς μὲν γὰρ πλείω καὶ μείζω τινὰς
 εὖ ποιεῖν ὀφείλει τοῦ μάλιστα δυναμένου; τίς
 δὲ ἦττον ἐξαμαρτάνειν τοῦ πλείστον ἰσχύοντος;
 τίς εὐβουλότερον τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου δοθεῖσι
 χρῆσθαι τοῦ τὰ μέγιστα παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντος;
 τίς ὀρθότερον τὰ παρόντα ἀγαθὰ μεταχειρίζεσθαι
 τοῦ πλείστα τε ἔχοντος καὶ μάλιστα περὶ
 3 αὐτῶν μὴ καὶ ἀπόληται φοβουμένου; ἡ μὲν
 γὰρ εὐπραγία σωφροσύνην λαβοῦσα διαμένει,
 καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία μετριάσασα πάντα τὰ κτηθέντα
 τηρεῖ· τό τε μέγιστον, καὶ ὅπερ ἦκιστα τοῖς
 εὖ² χωρὶς ἀρετῆς φερομένοις ὑπάρχει, καὶ ζῶσιν
 ἀδόλως φιλεῖσθαι καὶ τελευτήσασιν ἀληθῶς
 4 ἐπαινέισθαι διδόασιν. ὁ δὲ ἀνέδην³ ἐς πάντα
 ἀπλῶς τῇ δυνάμει καταχρώμενος οὔτε εὖνοιαν
 ἀληθῇ οὔτ' ἀσφάλειαν ἀκριβῆ εὐρίσκεται, ἀλλ'
 ἐν μὲν τῷ φανερῷ πλαστῶς κολακεύεται . . .⁴
 τὸν γὰρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐξουσίας ἀκράτορα⁵ οἷ τε
 ἄλλοι πάντες καὶ οἱ μάλιστα αὐτῷ χρώμενοι καὶ
 ὑποπτεύουσι καὶ φοβοῦνται.
- 17 “Ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως ἐφιλοσόφησα, ἀλλ' ἵνα
 εἰδῇτε ὅτι οὐκ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν, οὐδ' ἀπ' αὐτομάτου

¹ δύνωμαι H. Steph., δύναμαι L.

² εὖ Bk., οὐ L.

³ ἀνέδην Rk., ἀναδην L.

⁴ Lacuna recognized by Reim.

⁵ ἀκράτορα Bk., αὐτοκράτορα L.

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with honour. For in general it is neither noble nor just for a man to be convicted of doing the things which he has rebuked in those who have differed from him in opinion; nor will I ever think it proper to be likened to such men through my imitation of their deeds, and to differ merely by the reputation of my complete victory. For who ought to confer more and greater benefits upon people than he who has the greatest power? Who ought to err less than he who is the strongest? Who should use the gifts of Heaven more sensibly than he who has received the greatest ones from that source? Who ought to use present blessings more uprightly than he who has the most of them and is most afraid of losing them? For good fortune, if joined to self-control, is enduring, and authority, if it maintains moderation, preserves all that has been acquired; and, greatest of all, and also rarest with those who gain success without virtue, these things make it possible for their possessors to be loved unfeignedly while living and to receive genuine praise when dead. But the man who recklessly abuses his power on absolutely all occasions finds for himself neither genuine good-will nor certain safety, but, though accorded a false flattery in public, [is secretly plotted against(?)]. For the whole world, including his nearest associates, both suspects and fears a ruler who is not master of his own power.

“These statements that I have made are no mere sophistries, but are intended to convince you that what I think and say is not for effect nor yet

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νῦν προσπεσόντα αὐτά, ἀλλὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ
 πρέπει μοι καὶ συμφέρειν κρίνας καὶ φρονῶ
 καὶ λέγω, ὥσθ' ὑμᾶς μὴ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν μόνον
 θαρσεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον εὐέλπιδας
 εἶναι, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι, εἴπερ τι αὐτῶν ἐπλατ-
 τόμην, οὐκ ἂν ἀνεβαλόμην ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τήμερον
 2 ἐξέφηνα. ἀλλ' οὔτε πρότερον ἄλλως πως ἐφρό-
 νησα, ὥσπερ που καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα τεκμηριοῖ,
 νῦν τε πολὺ μᾶλλον προθυμήσομαι μετὰ πάσης
 ἐπιεικείας οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐ δεσπόζειν ὑμῶν ἀλλὰ
 προστατεῖν, οὐδὲ τυραννεύειν ἀλλ' ἡγεμονεύειν,
 πρὸς μὲν τᾶλλα πάνθ' ὅσα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν δεῖ
 πράττειν καὶ ὑπατος καὶ δικτάτωρ, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸ
 3 κακῶς ποιῆσαί τινα ἰδιώτης ὢν. τοῦτο γὰρ μόνον
 οὐδὲ¹ ῥηθῆναι καλὸν εἶναι νομίζω. πῶς μὲν γὰρ
 ἂν² ἀποκτείναιμί τινα ὑμῶν τῶν μηδέν με ἡδικη-
 κότων ὁ μηδένα μὲν τῶν μὴ ἀντιταξαμένων³
 μοι φθείρας, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα προθύμως τᾶλλά
 τισι κατ' ἐμοῦ συνήραντο,⁴ πάντας δὲ καὶ
 τοὺς ἄπαξ⁵ ἀντικαταστάντας μοι ἐλεήσας καὶ
 πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν δεύτερον ἀντιμαχεσαμένων
 4 σώσας; πῶς δ' ἂν μνησικακήσαιοι⁶ τισιν ὁ
 καὶ τὰ γράμματα, ὅσα καὶ παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίῳ
 καὶ παρὰ τῷ Σικιπίωνι ἀπόρρητα εὐρέθη, μὴτ'
 ἀναγνοὺς μὴτ' ἐκγραψάμενος⁷ ἀλλ' εὐθύς κατα-
 καύσας; ὥστε θαρσοῦντως, ὦ πατέρες, οἰκειωθῶ-
 μεν, ἐκλαθόμενοι μὲν πάντων τῶν συμβεβηκότων

¹ οὐδὲ Rk., οὐ L. ² ἂν added by Bk.

³ μὴ ἀντιταξαμένων Bk., ἀντιπραξαμένων L.

⁴ συνήραντο Rk., προσήραντο L.

⁵ ἄπαξ Xyl., ἅπαν L.

⁶ ἂν μνησικακήσαιοι R. Steph., ἀναμνησικακήσαιοι L.

⁷ ἐκγραψάμενος Reim., ἐγγραψάμενος L.

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thoughts that have just chanced to occur to me on the spur of the moment, but rather are convictions regarding what at the outset I decided was both suitable and advantageous for me. Consequently you may not only be of good courage with reference to the present, but also hopeful as regards the future, when you reflect that, if I had really been using any pretence, I should not now be deferring my projects, but would have made them known this very day. However, I was never otherwise minded in times past, as, indeed, my acts themselves prove, and now I shall be far more eager than ever with all reasonableness to be, not your master,—Jupiter forbid!—but your champion, not your tyrant, but your leader. When it comes to accomplishing everything else that must be done on your behalf, I will be both consul and dictator, but when it comes to injuring any one of you, a private citizen. That, in fact, is the one thing which I think should not even be mentioned. For why should I put any one of you to death, who have done me no harm, when I have destroyed none of those who were not arrayed against me, no matter how zealously in general they had joined with some of my enemies against me, and when I have taken pity on all those who withstood me but once and in many cases have spared even those who fought against me a second time? Why should I bear malice toward any, seeing that I immediately burned all the documents that were found among the private papers both in Pompey's and in Scipio's tents, and that without reading or copying them? Let us, therefore, Conscript Fathers, confidently unite our interests, forgetting all past events as if they had

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5 ὥς καὶ ἀνάγκη τινὲ δαιμονία γεγονότων, ἀρξά-
μενοι δὲ ἀνυπόπτως ἀλλήλους καθάπερ τινὰς
καινοὺς πολίτας φιλεῖν, ἵν' ὑμεῖς τε ὥς πρὸς
πατέρα με προσφέρησθε, τὴν μὲν πρόνοιαν τὴν
τε κηδεμονίαν τὴν παρ' ἐμοῦ καρπούμενοι, τῶν
δὲ δυσχερεστέρων μηδὲν φοβούμενοι, καὶ ἐγὼ ὥς
6 παίδων ὑμῶν ἐπιμελῶμαι,¹ πάντα μὲν τὰ κάλ-
λιστα αἰεὶ γίνεσθαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν εὐχόμενος, φέρων
δὲ ἀναγκαίως τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς
ταῖς προσηκούσαις τιμαῖς ἀγάλλων, τοὺς δὲ
λοιποὺς ἐπανορθῶν καθ' ὅσον ἐνδέχεται.

18 “Μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας δέισητε, μηδ'
ἄλλο τι αὐτοὺς ἢ φύλακας τῆς τε ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς
καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἅμα νομίσητε εἶναι· τρέφεσθαι
μὲν γάρ σφας ἀνάγκη πολλῶν ἔνεκα, τραφήσονται
δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, τοῖς τε διδο-
μένοις ἀρκούμενοι καὶ τοὺς διδόντας αὐτὰ ἀγα-
2 πῶντες. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐπὶ
πλεῖον τοῦ συνήθους εἰσπέπρακται, ἵνα τό τε
στασιάσαν ἅμα σωφρονισθῇ καὶ τὸ κεκρατηκὸς
αὐτάρκη τροφήν λαβὼν μὴ στασιάσῃ. οὐ γάρ
που² καὶ ἰδία τι αὐτῶν ἀποκεκέρδαγκα, ὅς γε
πάντα μὲν τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μοι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
3 δεδανεισμένος προσανάλωκα ὑμῖν· ἀλλ' ὁράτε
ὅτι τὰ μὲν τινα αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους³ δεδα-
πάνηται, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν τετήρηται, ἀφ' ὧν ἢ τε
πόλις κοσμηθήσεται⁴ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διοικηθήσεται.
ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἐπίφθονον τῆς ἐσπράξεως αὐτὸς
ἀνεδεξάμην, τῆς δ' ὠφελίας⁵ κοινῇ πάντες ἀπο-

¹ ἐπιμελῶμαι R. Steph., ἐπιμελοῦμαι L.

² που Pflugk, πω L.

³ πολέμους St., πολεμίους L.

⁴ κοσμηθήσεται Wesseling, κομισθήσεται L.

⁵ ὠφελίας Bs., ὠφελείας L.

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been brought to pass by some supernatural force, and beginning to love each other without suspicion as if we were in some sort new citizens In this way you will conduct yourselves toward me as toward a father, enjoying the forethought and solicitude which I shall give you and fearing nothing unpleasant, and I will take thought for you as for my children, praying that only the noblest deeds may ever be accomplished by your exertions, and yet enduring perforce the limitations of human nature, exalting the good citizens by fitting honours and correcting the rest so far as that is possible. B C. 46

“ And do not fear the soldiers, either, or regard them in any other light, than as guardians of my empire, which is at the same time yours. That they should be supported is necessary, for many reasons, but they will be supported for your benefit, not against you ; and they will be content with what is given them and will think well of the givers. This is the reason why the taxes now levied are higher than usual, in order that the seditious element may be made submissive and the victorious element, by receiving sufficient support, may not become seditious. Of course I have received no private gain from these funds, seeing that I have expended for you all that I possessed, and also much that was borrowed. No, you can see that a part of the taxes has been expended on the wars and that the rest has been kept safe for you ; it will serve to adorn the city and carry on the government in general. I have, then, taken upon my own shoulders the odium of the levy, whereas you will all enjoy its advantages in common, in the

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- 4 λαύσετε, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις· τῶν
 τε γὰρ ὀπλων αἰὲς ἡμῖν δεῖ, ἐπειδὴ μὴ οἷόν τε
 ἔστιν ἄνευ αὐτῶν πόλιν τε τηλικάυτην οἰκοῦντας
 καὶ ἀρχὴν τοσαύτην ἔχοντας ἀσφαλῶς ζῆσαι, καὶ
 ἡ περιουσία τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἰσχυρῶς
 5 ὠφελεῖ. μὴ μέντοι καὶ ὑποπτεύσῃ τις ὑμῶν ὅτι
 ἢ τῶν πλουσίων τινὰ λυπήσω ἢ¹ καὶ τέλη τινὰ
 καινὰ καταστήσω· τοῖς τε γὰρ παρούσιν ἀρκεσ-
 θήσομαι, καὶ προθυμήσομαι συνευπορήσαι τι
 μᾶλλον ὑμῖν ἢ διὰ χρήματά τινα ἀδικῆσαι.”
- 6 Τοιαῦτα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν τε τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ μετὰ
 τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ εἰπὼν ἐπεκούφισε μέν πως
 αὐτοὺς τοῦ δέους, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἡδυνήθη πείσαι
 παντάπασι θαρσεῖν, πρὶν καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τὰς
 ἐπαγγελίας βεβαιώσασθαι.
- 19 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο τά τε ἄλλα λαμπρῶς, ὥσπερ
 εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τε τοσαύταις καὶ τηλικάυταις ἅμα
 νίκαις ἦν, ἐποίει, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια τῶν τε Γαλατῶν
 καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τοῦ τε Φαρνάκου καὶ τοῦ
 Ἰόβου τετραχῇ χωρὶς τέσσαρσιν ἡμέραις ἐπεμψε.
 2 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἡϋφρανέου τοὺς ὀρώντας, ἡ δ’
 Ἀρσινόη ἡ Αἰγυπτία (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνην ἐν τοῖς
 αἰχμαλώτοις παρήγαγε) τό τε πλῆθος τῶν ῥαβ-
 δούχων καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ
 Ἀφρικῇ ἀπολωλόντων πομπεῖα δεινῶς αὐτοὺς
 3 ἐλύπησεν. ὃ τε γὰρ ἀριθμὸς ὁ τῶν ῥαβδούχων
 ἐπαχθέστατόν σφισιν ὄχλον, ἅτε μήπω πρότερον
 τοσούτους ἅμα ἑορακόσι, παρέσχε· καὶ ἡ Ἀρ-
 σινόη γυνὴ τε οὖσα καὶ βασιλὶς ποτε² νομισθεῖσα
 ἐν τε δεσμοῖς,³ ὃ μνηώποτε ἐν γε τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγε-

¹ ἢ supplied by Reim.

² ποτε Xyl., τότε L.

³ δεσμοῖς Turneb., δήμοις L.

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campaigns as well as elsewhere. For we are always in need of arms, since without them it is impossible for us, who live in so great a city and hold so extensive an empire, to live in safety; and an abundance of money is a great help in this matter as well as elsewhere. However, let none of you suspect that I shall harass any man who is rich or establish any new taxes; I shall be satisfied with the present revenues and shall be more anxious to help make some contribution to your prosperity than to wrong any one for his money."

B.C. 46

By such statements in the senate and afterward before the people Caesar relieved them to some extent of their fears, but was not able to persuade them altogether to be of good courage until he confirmed his promises by his deeds.

After this he conducted the whole festival in a brilliant manner, as was fitting in honour of victories so many and so decisive. He celebrated triumphs for the Gauls, for Egypt, for Pharnaces, and for Juba, in four sections, on four separate days. Most of it, of course, delighted the spectators, but the sight of Arsinoe of Egypt, whom he led among the captives, and the host of lictors and the symbols of triumph taken from the citizens who had fallen in Africa displeased them exceedingly. The lictors, on account of their numbers, appeared to them a most offensive multitude, since never before had they beheld so many at one time; and the sight of Arsinoe, a woman and once considered a queen, in chains,—a spectacle which had never yet been seen,

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4 γόνει, ὀφθεῖσα πάμπολυν οἶκτον ἐνέβαλε, καὶ
 τούτου ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα πάθη
 παρωδύραντο. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν διὰ τοὺς
 ἀδελφούς ἀφείθη, ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ ὁ Οὐερκινγετόριξ
 ἐθανατώθησαν.

- 20 Δυσχερῶς μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦθ' ἄπερ εἶπον διετέ-
 θησαν, ἐλάχιστα δ' οὖν¹ αὐτὰ πρὸς γε τὸ πλήθος
 τῶν ἐαλωκότων καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κατειρ-
 γασμένων ἐνόμιζον εἶναι. τούτων τε² οὖν ἕνεκα
 καὶ ὑπερεθαύμαζον αὐτόν, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὴν παρ-
 ρησίαν τοῦ στρατοῦ πραότατα ἤνεγκε. τοὺς τε
 γὰρ ἐς τὸ συνέδριόν σφων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταλεχ-
 2 θέντας ἐτώθασαν, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα ποτ'
 εὐτελίζετο,³ καὶ ἐν⁴ τοῖς μάλιστα τὸν τε τῆς
 Κλεοπάτρας αὐτοῦ ἔρωτα καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῷ
 Νικομήδει τῷ τῆς Βιθυνίας βασιλεύσαντι δια-
 τριβήν, ὅτι μειράκιόν ποτε παρ' αὐτῷ ἐγεγόνει,
 διεκερτόμησαν, ὥστε καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι Καῖσαρ μὲν
 Γαλάτας ἐδουλώσατο, Καίσαρα δὲ Νικομήδης.
 3 τέλος δὲ ἐφ' ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς ἀθρόοι ἀναβοήσαντες
 εἶπον ὅτι, ἂν μὲν καλῶς ποιήσης, κολασθήσῃ, ἂν
 δὲ κακῶς, βασιλεύσεις.⁵ τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐβού-
 λετο δηλοῦν ὅτι, ἂν μὲν ἀποδῶ⁶ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν
 αὐτονομίαν, ὅπερ πού δίκαιον ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, καὶ
 κριθήσεται ἐφ' οἷς ἔξω τῶν νόμων εἰργάσατο καὶ

¹ δ' οὖν Pflugk, γοῦν L.

³ εὐτελίζετο Jacoby, ἐντίζετο L.

⁵ βασιλεύσεις Xiph., βασιλεύσης L.

² τε Bk., γε L

⁴ ἐν supplied by Val.

⁶ ἀποδῶ St., ἀποδῶη L.

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at least in Rome,—aroused very great pity, and with this as an excuse they lamented their private misfortunes. She, to be sure, was released out of consideration for her brothers; but others, including Vercingetorix, were put to death. B.C. 46

The people, accordingly, were disagreeably affected by these sights that I have mentioned, and yet they considered them of very slight importance in view of the multitude of captives and the magnitude of Caesar's accomplishments. This led them to admire him extremely, as did likewise the good nature with which he bore the army's outspoken comments. For the soldiers jeered at those of their own number who had been appointed by him to the senate and at all the other failings of which he was accused, and in particular jested about his love for Cleopatra and his sojourn at the court of Nicomedes, the ruler of Bithynia, inasmuch as he had once been at his court when a lad; indeed, they even declared that the Gauls had been enslaved by Caesar, but Caesar by Nicomedes.¹ Finally, on top of all this, they all shouted out together that if you do right, you will be punished, but if wrong, you will be king.² This was meant by them to signify that if Caesar should restore self-government to the people, which they of course regarded as just, he would have to stand trial for the deeds he had committed in violation of the

¹ For the obscene jest cf. Suetonius, *Iul.* 49.

² This remark is evidently a perversion of an old nursery jingle (*nenia*) —

Si male faxis rapulabis, si bene faxis rex eris.

Another form of it is found in Horace, *Ep.* i. 1, 59-60.—

*at pueri ludentes "rex eris" aiunt
"si recte facies."*

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δίικην ὑφέξει,¹ ἂν δὲ τῇ δυναστείᾳ ἐμμείνη, ὅπερ
 4 που ἀδικοῦντος ἔργον ἦν, μοναρχήσει.¹ οὐ μέντοι
 καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἤχθετο ταῦτα αὐτῶν λεγόντων, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ πάνν ἔχαιρεν ὅτι τοσαύτῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν παρ-
 ρησία, πίστει τοῦ μὴ ἂν ὀργισθῆναί ποτε ἐπ'
 αὐτῇ, ἐχρῶντο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον τὴν συνουσίαν
 τὴν πρὸς τὸν Νικομήδῃ διέβαλλον· ἐπὶ γὰρ
 τούτῳ πάνν τε ἐδυσκόλαινε καὶ ἔνδηλος ἦν
 λυπούμενος, ἀπολογεῖσθαί τε ἐπεχείρει καὶ κατ-
 ὤμνε, καὶ τούτου καὶ γέλωτα προσεπωφλίσ-
 κανεν.

- 21 Ἐν δ' οὖν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν νικητηρίων τέρας οὐκ
 ἀγαθὸν αὐτῷ ἐγένετο· ὁ γὰρ ἄξων τοῦ ἄρματος
 τοῦ πομπικοῦ παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ Τυχαίῳ τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 Λουκούλλου οἰκοδομηθέντι συνετρίβῃ, ὥστε ἐφ'
 2 ἐτέρου αὐτὸν τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιτελέσαι. καὶ τότε μὲν
 καὶ τοὺς ἀναβασμοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τοῖς
 γόνασιν ἀνερριχῆσατο μηδὲν μήτε τὸ² ἄρμα τὸ
 πρὸς τὸν Δία ἀνιδρυθὲν αὐτῷ μήτε τὴν εἰκόνα
 τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ κειμένην
 μήτε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα αὐτῆς ὑπολογισάμενος, ὥστε-
 ρον δὲ τὸ τοῦ ἡμιθέου ὄνομα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπήλειψεν.
 3 Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἔπεμφε, καὶ ἐπ'
 αὐτοῖς τὸν τε δῆμον λαμπρῶς εἰστίασε καὶ σίτον
 ἕξω τοῦ τεταγμένου καὶ ἔλαιον προσέδωκεν αὐτῷ.
 καὶ τῷ μὲν σιτοδοτουμένῳ ὄχλῳ τὰς τε ἐβδομή-
 κοντα καὶ πέντε δραχμὰς ἅς προϋπέσχητο³ καὶ
 ἐτέρας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, τοῖς δὲ δὴ στρατιώταις
 4 πεντακισχιλίας ὅλας ἔνειμεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ
 ἀπλῶς ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἄλλα διη-

¹ ὑφέξει, μοναρχήσει Xiph., ὑφέξει, μοναρχήσει L.

² τὸ Bk., ἐς τὸ L. ³ προϋπέσχητο Bk., προυπέσχετο L.

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laws and would suffer punishment; whereas, if he should hold on to his power, which was naturally the course of an unjust person, he would continue to be sole ruler. As for him, however, he was not displeased at their saying this, but was quite delighted that by such frankness toward him they showed their confidence that he would never be angry at it—except in so far as their abuse concerned his intercourse with Nicomedes. At this he was greatly vexed and manifestly pained; he attempted to defend himself, denying the affair upon oath, whereupon he incurred all the more ridicule. B.C. 46

Now on the first day of the triumph a portent far from good fell to his lot: the axle of the triumphal car broke down directly opposite the temple of Fortune built by Lucullus, so that he had to complete the rest of the course in another. On this occasion, too, he climbed up the stairs of the Capitol on his knees, without noticing at all either the chariot which had been dedicated to Jupiter in his honour, or the image of the inhabited world lying beneath his feet, or the inscription upon it; but later he erased from the inscription the term “demigod.”

After the triumph he entertained the populace splendidly, giving them grain beyond the regular amount and olive oil. Also to the multitude which received doles of corn he assigned the three hundred sesterces which he had already promised and a hundred more, but to the soldiers twenty thousand in one sum. Yet he was not uniformly munificent, but in most respects was very strict; for instance, since

κριβοῦτο, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ τὸν σῖτον φερον-
τος ἐπὶ μακρότατον, οὐ κατὰ δίκην ἀλλ' ὥς που
ἐν ταῖς στάσεσιν εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, ἐπαυξηθέντος
ἐξέτασιν ἐποίησατο, καὶ τοὺς γε ἡμίσεις ὁμοῦ τι
αὐτῶν προαπήλειψε.

- 22 Τὰς μὲν δὴ οὖν ἄλλας τῶν νικητηρίων ἡμέρας
ὥς που ἐνενόμιστο διήγαγε· τῇ δὲ τελευταίᾳ
ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου ἐγένοντο, ἕς τε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
ἀγορὰν ἐσῆλθε βλαύτας ὑποδεδεμένος¹ καὶ ἄνθεσι
παντοδαποῖς ἐστεφανωμένος, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν οἴκαδε
παντὸς μὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῦ δήμου παραπέμποντος
αὐτόν, πολλῶν δὲ ἐλεφάντων λαμπάδας φερόντων
2 ἐκομίσθη. τὴν γὰρ ἀγορὰν τὴν ἀπ'² αὐτοῦ
κεκλημένην κατεσκεύαστο·³ καὶ ἔστι μὲν περι-
καλλεστέρα τῆς Ῥωμαίας, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα τὸ
ἐκείνης ἐπηύξησεν, ὥστε καὶ μεγάλην αὐτὴν ὀνο-
μάζεσθαι. ταύτην τε οὖν καὶ τὸν νεῶν τὸν τῆς
Ἀφροδίτης, ὡς καὶ ἀρχηγέτιδος τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ
3 οὔσης, ποιήσας καθιέρωσεν εὐθύς τότε· καὶ
πολλοὺς γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἀγῶνας
ἔθηκε, θέατρον τι κυνηγετικὸν ἰκριώσας, ὃ καὶ
ἀμφιθέατρον ἐκ τοῦ πέριξ πανταχόθεν ἔδρας ἄνευ
σκηνῆς ἔχειν προσεργήθη.⁴ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ⁵ καὶ
ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ καὶ θηρίων σφαγὰς καὶ ἀνδρῶν
4 ὀπλομαχίας ἐποίησεν, ὧν ἑάν τις τὸν ἀριθμὸν
γράψαι ἐθέλῃ, ὅχλον ἂν τῇ συγγραφῇ οὐδ'
ἀληθῆ ἴσως παράσχοι· πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα
ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον αἰεὶ κομποῦται. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ

¹ ὑποδεδεμένος R. Steph., ὑποδεδημένος L, Xiph.

² ἀπ' R. Steph., ὑπ' L.

³ κατεσκεύαστο Melber, κατεσκευάσατο L.

⁴ προσεργήθη Xiph., προσερέθη L.

⁵ τούτῳ R. Steph., τοῦτο L.

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the multitude receiving doles of corn had increased B C. 46
enormously, not by lawful methods but in such ways
as are common in times of strife, he caused the
matter to be investigated and struck out half of
their names at one time before the distribution.

The first days of the triumph he passed as was
customary, but on the last day, after they had
finished dinner, he entered his own forum wearing
slippers and garlanded with all kinds of flowers;
thence he proceeded homeward with practically the
entire populace escorting him, while many elephants
carried torches. For he had himself constructed the
forum called after him, and it is distinctly more beauti-
ful than the Roman Forum; yet it had increased the
reputation of the other so that that was called the
Great Forum. So after completing this new forum
and the temple to Venus, as the founder of his family,
he dedicated them at this very time, and in their
honour instituted many contests of all kinds. He
built a kind of hunting-theatre of wood, which was
called an amphitheatre from the fact that it had
seats all around without any stage. In honour
of this and of his daughter he exhibited combats
of wild beasts and gladiators; but anyone who
cared to record their number would find his task
a burden without being able, in all probability,
to present the truth; for all such matters are
regularly exaggerated in a spirit of boastfulness. I
shall accordingly pass over this and other like events

- ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁμοίων τῶν ἔπειτα γενομένων
 ἑάσω, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τι πάνυ μοι δόξειεν ἀναγκαῖον
 23 εἰπεῖν εἶναι· περὶ δὲ δὴ τῆς καμηλοπαρδάλιδος
 ὠνομασμένης ἔρῳ, ὅτι τότε πρῶτον ἕς τε τὴν
 Ῥώμην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐσῆχθη καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπεδείχθη.¹
 τὸ γὰρ ζῶον τοῦτο τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κάμηλός ἐστι,
 πλὴν καθ' ὅσον οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου τῶν κώλων ἔχει.
 2 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὀπίσθια αὐτοῦ χθαμαλώτερα ἐστίν·
 ἀρχόμενον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν γλουτῶν ὑψοῦται κατὰ
 βραχὺ ὥστ' ἀναβαίνοντί ποι ἰοικέναι, καὶ μετε-
 ωρισθὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὸ μὲν ἄλλο σῶμα ἐπὶ τῶν
 ἐμπροσθίων σκελῶν ἐρείδει,² τὸν δ' αὐχένα ἕς
 ὑψος αὐτοῦ ἴδιον ἀνατείνει. τὴν δὲ δὴ χροᾶν κατέ-
 στικται ὥσπερ πάρδαλις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ
 3 ὄνομα ἐπὶκοινον ἀμφοτέρων φέρει. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ
 τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας συνέβαλλε μὲν
 καὶ ἕνα ἐνὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, συνέ-
 βαλλε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ πλείους, καὶ
 ἵππείας ἵππεῦσι καὶ πεζοὺς πεζοῖς, ἄλλους τε
 ἀναμῖξ ἀλλήλοις ἴσους. καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπ' ἐλε-
 4 φάντων τεσσαράκοντα ἐμάχεσαντο. καὶ τέλος
 ναυμαχίαν οὐκ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ οὐδὲ ἐν λίμνῃ τινὶ
 ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἐποίησε· χωρίον γάρ τι ἐν τῷ
 Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ κοιλάνας³ ὕδωρ τε ἕς αὐτὸ ἐσήκε
 καὶ ναῦς ἐσήγαγεν. ἐμάχοντο δὲ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς
 ἀγῶσιν οἳ τε αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ οἱ θάνατον ὥφλη-
 5 κότες· καὶ τινες καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν
 ἄλλων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐστρατηγηκότος τινὸς ἀνδρὸς
 υἱός, ἐμονομάχησαν. καὶ βουλευτῆς δέ τις

¹ ἐπεδείχθη Bk., ὑπεδείχθη L.² ἐρείδει supplied by Bk.³ κοιλάνας Xiph., κοιλήνας L.

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that took place later, except, of course, where it may seem to me quite essential to mention some particular point, but I will give an account of the so-called camelopard, because it was then introduced into Rome by Caesar for the first time and exhibited to all. This animal is like a camel in all respects except that its legs are not all of the same length, the hind legs being the shorter. Beginning from the rump it grows gradually higher, which gives it the appearance of mounting some elevation; and towering high aloft, it supports the rest of its body on its front legs and lifts its neck in turn to an unusual height. Its skin is spotted like a leopard, and for this reason it bears the joint name of both animals. Such is the appearance of this beast. As for the men, he not only pitted them one against another singly in the Forum, as was customary, but he also made them fight together in companies in the Circus, horsemen against horsemen, men on foot against others on foot, and sometimes both kinds together in equal numbers. There was even a fight between men seated on elephants, forty in number. Finally he produced a naval battle, not on the sea nor on a lake, but on land; for he hollowed out a certain tract on the Campus Martius and after flooding it introduced ships into it. In all the contests the captives and those condemned to death took part; yet some even of the knights, and, not to mention others, the son of one who had been praetor fought in single combat. Indeed a senator named

B. G. 46

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Φόλουιος Σεπίνος¹ ἤθελησε μὲν ὄπλομαχήσαι, ἐκωλύθη δέ· ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ἀπηύξατο ὁ Καῖσαρ μήποτε συμβῆναι, τοὺς δ' ἱππέας περιεῖδε μαχο-
6 μένους. τὴν τε ἱππασίαν τὴν Τροίαν καλουμένην οἱ παῖδες οἱ εὐπατρίδαι κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐποιήσαντο· καὶ ἐφ' ἀρμάτων οἱ νεανίσκοι οἱ ὁμότιμοι αὐτοῖς ἡμιλλήσαντο.

- 24 Ἔσχε μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν φονευομένων αἰτίαν, ὅτι μήτ' αὐτὸς διακορῆς σφαγῶν² ἐγεγόνει καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὰς τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν εἰκόνας ἐπεδείκνυε, πολλὸν δὲ δὴ μείζω ὅτι ἀμύθητα χρήματα ἐς πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἀνάλωσεν, ὥς καὶ καθ' ἐκάτερον ἐπιβοᾶσθαι,³ καὶ ὅτι ἀδίκως αὐτῶν τὰ πλείω συνελέξατο, καὶ ὅτι ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτοῖς
2 κατεχρήσατο. ἐν γάρ τι τῆς πολυτελείας τῆς τότε γενομένης ἐχόμενον εἰπὼν καὶ τᾶλλα δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα σημάνῳ. ἵνα γὰρ μηδένα τῶν θεωμένων ὁ ἥλιος λυπήσῃ, παραπετάσματι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σηρικὰ, ὥς γέ τινές φασιν, ὑπερεπέτασεν. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὕφασμα χλιδῆς βαρβάρου ἔργον ἐστὶ, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐς τρυφὴν τῶν
3 πάνυ γυναικῶν περιττὴν ἐσπεφοίτηκεν. ἐπ' οὖν τούτοις οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ ἀνάγκῃ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἡγον, οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται ἐθούρυσαν, οὐχ ὅτι ἔμελέ σφισι τῶν εἰκῇ δαπανωμένων, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐ

¹ Both names are probably corrupt; Dio regularly has Φούλουιος for Fulvius. ² σφαγῶν Oddey, σφῶν L.

³ ἐπιβοᾶσθαι Xiph., ἐπεκβοᾶσθαι L.

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Fulvius Sepinus¹ desired to contend in full armour, but was prevented; for Caesar deprecated that spectacle at any time, though he did permit the knights to contend. The patrician boys went through the equestrian exercise called "Troy"² according to ancient custom, and the young men of the same rank contended in chariots. B.C. 46

He was blamed, indeed, for the great number of those slain, on the ground that he himself had not become sated with bloodshed and was further exhibiting to the populace symbols of their own miseries; but much more fault was found because he had expended countless sums on all that array. In consequence a clamour was raised against him for two reasons—first, that he had collected most of the funds unjustly, and, again, that he had squandered them for such purposes. If I mention one feature of his extravagance at that time, I shall thereby give an idea of all the rest. In order that the sun might not annoy any of the spectators, he had curtains stretched over them made of silk, according to some accounts. Now this fabric is a device of barbarian luxury, and has come down from them even to us to gratify the fastidious taste of fine ladies. The citizens perforce held their peace at such acts, but the soldiers raised a disturbance, not because they cared about the reckless squandering of the money, but because they

¹ This is possibly a corruption for the *Furnus Leptinus* mentioned by Suetonius, *Iul.* 39.

² This *ludus Troiae*, or simply *Troia*, is first mentioned in the time of Sulla, and then on the present occasion; later we hear of it often (cf. *xlix.* 43, 3, *li.* 22, 4, *liii.* 1, 4, *liv.* 26, 1, etc.). Virgil's account (*Aen.* v. 553–603) of the boys' contest at the funeral games in honour of Anchises may be regarded as a correct description in the main of what he saw at the contest in honour of Actium.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἔλαβον. καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε ἐπαύσαντο ταραττόμενοι πρὶν τὸν Καίσαρα ἄφνω τε αὐτοῖς ἐπελθεῖν καὶ κρατήσαντά τινα
- 4 αὐτοχειρίᾳ πρὸς τιμωρίαν παραδοῦναι. οὗτος μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα ἐδικαιώθη, ἄλλοι δὲ δύο ἄνδρες ἐν τρόπῳ τινὶ ἱερουργίας ἐσφάγησαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν αἴτιον οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν (οὔτε γὰρ ἡ Σίβυλλα ἔχρησεν, οὔτ' ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτο λόγιον ἐγένετο), ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ πρὸς τε τῶν ποντιφίκων καὶ πρὸς τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Ἀρεως ἐτύθησαν, καὶ αἶ γε¹ κεφαλαὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ βασιλείον ἀνετέθησαν.
- 25 Ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἐπράττετο, καὶ ἐνομοθετεῖτο πολλά, ὧν ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παραλείψω, τῶν δὲ δὴ λόγου μάλιστα ἀξίων μνησθήσομαι. τὰ τε γὰρ δικαστήρια τοῖς τε βουλευταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι μόνοις ἐπέτρεψεν, ὅπως τὸ καθαρώτατον
- 2 ὅτι μάλιστα αἰεὶ δικάζοι· πρότερον γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὁμίλου τινὲς συνδιεγίγνωσκον αὐτοῖς· καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα τῶν τι ἐχόντων ἐπὶ πλείστον ὑπ' ἀσωτίας ἐξηγμένα οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ μόνον ἐμετρίασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἰσχυρῶς ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποίησατο. ἐπειδὴ τε δεινὴ ὀλιγανθρωπία διὰ τὸ τῶν ἀπολωλότων πλῆθος, ὥς ἔκ τε τῶν ἀπογραφῶν (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνας τὰ τε ἄλλα ὥσπερ τις τιμητῆς ἐποίησε) καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως αὐτῆς ἠλέγχετο, ἦν,² πολυ-
- 3 παιδίας ἄθλα ἐπέθηκεν. ὅτι τε αὐτὸς πολλοῖς τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐφεξῆς ἔτεσιν ἄρξας ἔς τε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς δυναστείας μᾶλλον προήχθη καὶ ἔς τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς ἰσχύος ἐπηυξήθη, κατέκλεισε νόμῳ τοὺς μὲν ἐστρατηγη-

¹ αἶ γε v. Herw., γε αἶ L.

² ἦν Xyl., ἦν L.

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themselves did not receive the citizens' wealth too. In fact they did not cease their rioting until Caesar suddenly came upon them, and seizing one man with his own hands, delivered him up to punishment. So this man was executed for the reason given, and two others were slain as a sort of ritual observance. The true cause I am unable to state, inasmuch as the Sibyl made no utterance and there was no other similar oracle, but at any rate they were sacrificed in the Campus Martius by the pontifices and the priest of Mars, and their heads were set up near the Regia. B.C. 40

While Caesar was thus engaged he was also enacting many laws, most of which I shall omit, mentioning only those most worthy of record. The courts he entrusted to the senators and the knights alone, in order that the purest element of the population, so far as was possible, might always preside; for formerly some of the common people¹ had also joined with them in rendering decisions. The expenditures, moreover, of men of means, which had grown to an enormous extent by reason of their prodigality, he not only regulated by law but also practically checked by stern measures. Moreover, since, on account of the multitude of those who had perished there was a serious falling off in population, as was shown both by the censuses (which he attended to, among other things, as if he were censor) and, indeed, by mere observation, he offered prizes for large families of children. Again, since it was by ruling the Gauls for many years in succession that he himself had conceived a greater desire for dominion and had increased the equipment of his force, he limited by law the term of *propraetors* to one year, and that of

¹ The *tribuni aerarii*.

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proconsuls to two consecutive years, and enacted that no one whatever should be allowed to hold any command for a longer time. B C 46

After the passage of these laws he also established in their present fashion the days of the year, which had got somewhat out of order, since they still at that time measured their months by the moon's revolutions ; he did this by adding sixty-seven days, the number necessary to bring the year out even. Some, indeed, have declared that even more were intercalated, but the truth is as I have stated it. He got this improvement from his stay in Alexandria, save in so far as the people there reckon their months as of thirty days each, and afterwards add the five days to the year as a whole, whereas Caesar distributed among seven months these five along with two other days that he took away from one month.¹ The one day, however, which results from the fourths he introduced into every fourth year, so as to make the annual seasons no longer differ at all except in the slightest degree ; at any rate in fourteen hundred and sixty-one years there is need of only one additional intercalary day.²

All these and the other undertakings which he was planning for the common weal he accomplished not on his own authority nor by his own counsel, but communicated everything in every instance to the leaders of the senate, and sometimes even to that

¹ *I.e.* February

² As a matter of fact, the average length of the Julian year is too great by about eleven minutes, amounting to one day in 128 years. Thus the Julian calendar, still employed in Russia and Greece, is now (since 1900) thirteen days behind the Gregorian, the Council of Nice (325 A.D.) being the point of departure.

- ἐπεκοίνου.¹ καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ἥκιστα, καίτοι τραχυτερόν τινα νομοθετήσας, ὅμως ἤρεσέ σφισι.
- 2 καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις καὶ ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανεν, ὅτι δὲ δὴ τῶν φευγόντων ἐκ δικαστηρίου πολλοὺς διὰ δημάρχων δὴ τινων κατήγαγε, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς δεκάσμου² ἐπ' ἀρχῆς ἀποδείξει ἀλούσιν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ διαιτᾶσθαι ἐπέτρεψεν, ἔτι τε ἐς τὴν βουλὴν αὐθις οὐκ ἀξίους τινὰς αὐτῆς ἐγκατέλεξε,
- 3 πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ ἐθρυλεῖτο. πλείστην δ' οὖν ὅμως αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἔρωτι, οὐ τῷ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἔτι (ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἠκούετο) ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ, παρὰ πάντων ἔσχεν. ἦλθέ τε γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ἐς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐσφκίσθη, ὥστε καὶ ἐκεῖνον³ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι κακῶς ἀκούσαι. οὐ μὴν καὶ ἔμελέν οἱ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τοὺς φίλους σφᾶς τοὺς τε συμμάχους τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέγραψε.
- 28 Κὰν τούτῳ⁴ ἐμάνθανε μὲν πάντα καθ' ἕκαστον ὧν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐποίει, οὐ⁵ μέντοι καὶ δυσνίκητον⁶ αὐτὸν εἶναι νομίζων πρότερον μὲν τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκ τῆς Σαρδοῦς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλεν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα τὰ⁷ ἐκ καταλόγου ἔπεμψεν ὥς καὶ δι' ἐτέρων διαπολεμῆ-
 2 σων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾗσθετο ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐπὶ μέγα προχωροῦντα καὶ τοὺς πεμφθέντας οὐχ ἱκανοὺς ἀντιπολεμεῖν αὐτῷ ὄντας, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξεστράτευσεν, τὴν πόλιν τῷ τε Λεπίδῳ καὶ

¹ ἐπεκοίνου R. Steph., ἐπεκείνου L.² δεκάσμου Palm., δεκάσμοις L.³ ἐκεῖνον cod Peir., ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον L.⁴ κὰν τούτῳ Bk., κακ τούτου L.⁵ οὐ Bk., καὶ L.⁶ δυσνίκητον Xyl., δυσκίνητον L.⁷ τὰ supplied by Rk.

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entire body. And to this practice most of all was due B C 46
the fact that, even after he passed some rather harsh
measures, he still succeeded in pleasing them. For
these acts, then, he received praise ; but when he
induced some of the tribunes to restore many of
those who had been exiled after due trial, and
allowed those who had been convicted of bribery in
canvassing for office to live in Italy, and furthermore
enrolled once more in the senate some who were un-
worthy of it, many murmurings of all sorts arose
against him. But he incurred the greatest censure
from all because of his passion for Cleopatra—
not now the passion he had displayed in Egypt
(for that was a matter of hearsay), but that
which was displayed in Rome itself. For she had
come to the city with her husband and settled in
Caesar's own house, so that he too derived an ill
repute on account of both of them. He was not at
all concerned, however, about this, but actually
enrolled them among the friends and allies of the
Roman people.

Meanwhile he was learning in detail all that
Pompey was doing in Spain ; but thinking him easy
to vanquish, he at first despatched the fleet from
Sardinia against him, and later sent on also the
armies that had been enrolled, intending to conduct
the whole war through others. But when he ascer-
tained that Pompey was gaining great headway and
that the men he had sent were not sufficient to fight
against him, he finally set out himself to join the
expedition, after entrusting the city to Lepidus and a

πολιανόμοις¹ τισὶν ὀκτώ, ὥς τισι δοκεῖ, ἡ² ἕξ, ὥς μᾶλλον πεπίστευται, ἐπιτρέψας.

- 29 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Λογγίνου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐκινήθη καὶ τινες καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐνεωτέρισαν, ἡμέρας μὲν τινὰς τοῦ τε Λογγίνου ἀπαλλαγέντος καὶ τοῦ Τρεβωνίου τὴν διαδοχὴν αὐτοῦ λαβόν-
 2 τος, ἡσύχασαν, ἔπειτα δέει τῆς ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμωρίας ἐπρεσβεύσαντο κρύφα πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, μεταστῆναι βουλόμενοι· καὶ ὃς ἄλλους τέ σφισι καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τὸν Γναῖον ἀπέστειλε. προσέχων δὲ ἐκεῖνος ταῖς Γυμνησίαις³ νήσοις τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀμαχεί, τὴν δὲ Ἑβεσον σὺν πόνῳ παρεστήσατο, κἀνταῦθα νοσήσας μετὰ τῶν
 3 στρατιωτῶν διέτριψε. χρονίζοντος οὖν αὐτοῦ, πυθόμενοι οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ τὸν τε Σκιπίωνα ἀπολωλότα καὶ τὸν Δίδιον ἐπιπλέοντά σφισι, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὴ διαφθαρῶσι πρὶν τὸν Πομπήιον ἐλθεῖν, οὐκ ἔμειναν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ Τίτον τε Κύντιον⁴ Σκαπούλαν καὶ Κύντον Ἀπώνιον ἄνδρας ἱππέας προστησάμενοι τὸν τε Τρεβώνιον ἐξέβαλον καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Βαιτικὸν πᾶν συναπέστησαν.

- 30 Πραξάντων δὲ ταῦτα αὐτῶν Πομπήιος ῥάϊσας ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τὴν κατ' ἀντιπέρασ διέπλευσε, καὶ ἄλλας μὲν τινὰς πόλεις εὐθύς ἐκουσίας προσ-
 εποίησατο (ταῖς τε γὰρ ἐπιτάξεσι τῶν ἐφεσθηκό-
 των σφίσιν ἀχθόμενοι, καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνον οὐκ ὀλίγα ἐκ
 τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μνήμης ἐπελπίζοντες

¹ πολιανόμοις R. Steph., παλιανόμοις L. ² ἡ Xyl., μὴ L.

³ Γυμνησίαις Reim., γυμνασίας L.

⁴ Κύντιον Reim., κύντον L.

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number of prefects—eight as some think, or six as is more commonly believed.

The legions in Spain under Longinus and Marcellus had rebelled and some of the cities had revolted. When Longinus had been removed and Trebonius had become his successor, they kept quiet for a few days; then, through fear of vengeance on Caesar's part, they secretly sent ambassadors to Scipio, expressing a desire to transfer their allegiance, and he sent to them Gnaeus Pompey among others. Pompey put in at the Balearic Isles and took these islands without a battle, except Ebusus, which he gained with difficulty; then, falling sick, he tarried there with his troops. As a result of his delay, the soldiers in Spain, who had learned that Scipio was dead and that Didius was setting sail against them, feared that they would be annihilated before Pompey could arrive, and so failed to wait for him; but putting at their head Titus Quintius Scapula and Quintus Aponius, both knights, they drove out Trebonius and led the whole Baetic nation to revolt at the same time.

They had gone thus far when Pompey, recovering from his illness, sailed across to the mainland opposite. He immediately won over several cities without resistance, for, being vexed at the commands of their rulers and also reposing no little hope in him because of the memory of his father, they readily received

- 2 *ετοίμως αὐτὸν ἐδέξαντο*), *Καρχηδόνα δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλησασαν ὁμολογῆσαι ἐπολιόρκει*. *μαθόντες οὖν τοῦτο οἱ περὶ τὸν Σκαπούλαν*¹ *ἦλθόν τε ἐν- ταῦθα, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα αὐτὸν ἐλό- μενοι προσεῖχόν τε αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ προεθυ- μούντο ἰσχυρότατα, τὰ κέρδη τὰ ἐκείνου ἴδια καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς οἰκείας ποιούμενοι, ὥστ' ἀφ' ἐκατέρου, τὰ μὲν ὅπως λάβωσι, τὰς*² *δ' ὅπως μὴ*
 3 *πάθωσιν, ἐρρῶσθαι*. *καὶ γὰρ ὁ Πομπήιος, οἷα ἐν τοιαύταις ταραχαῖς*³ *καὶ καταστάσεσι πάντες εἰώθασιν ποιεῖν, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐπειδὴ τινες τῶν Ἀλλοβρόγων, οὓς οἱ ὁ*⁴ *Ἰόβας ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Κουρίωνα πολέμου ζωγρήσας ἐδεδώκει, ἡὺτο- μόλησαν, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχὶ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ τοῖς*
 4 *λοιποῖς ἐχαρίζετο*. *οὗτοί τε οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πολὺ προθυμότεροι ἐγένοντο, καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων συχνοί, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσοι σὺν τῷ Ἀφρανίῳ ποτὲ ἐστράτευντο,*⁵ *προσεχώρησαν· τῶν τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Σέξτος ὃ τε Οὐᾶρος καὶ ὁ Λαβιῆνος σὺν τῷ ναυτικῷ*
 5 *πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλθον*. *κὰκ τούτου τῷ τε πλήθει τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τῇ προθυμίᾳ ἄρθεις τὴν τε χώραν ἀδεῶς διεπορεύετο, καὶ πόλεις τὰς μὲν ἐκούσας τὰς δὲ ἀκούσας προσετίθετο, καὶ ἐδόκει*
 31 *καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν πατέρα ἰσχύειν*. *ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατηγοὶ Κύνιτος τε Φάβιος Μάξιμος καὶ Κύνιτος Πέδιος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀξιόμαχοί οἱ νομίζοντες εἶναι αὐτοὶ τε ἡσύχα- ζον καὶ ἐκείνον σπουδῇ μετεπέμποντο*.

¹ Σκαπούλαν R. Steph., σκιπίωνα L.² τὰς Bk., τὰ L. ³ ταραχαῖς Rk., ἀρχαῖς L.⁴ οἱ δ Bk., οἱ Rk., ὁ L.⁵ ἐστράτευντο Bk., ἐστρατεύοντο L.

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him ; and Carthage,¹ which was unwilling to come to terms, he besieged. The followers of Scapula, on learning of this, went there and chose him general with full powers, after which they were most devoted to him and showed the greatest zeal, regarding his successes as the successes of each one of them and his disasters as their own. Consequently their resolution was confirmed by their double purpose of obtaining the successes and avoiding the disasters. For Pompey, too, did what all are accustomed to do in the midst of such turbulent conditions, especially after the desertion of some of the Allobroges whom Juba had taken alive in the war against Curio and had given to him : that is, he granted to the rest every possible favour both in word and in deed. Not only these men, therefore, became more zealous in his behalf, but a number of the opposing side, also, particularly all who had once served under Afranius, came over to him. Then there were those who came to him from Africa, among others his brother Sextus, and Varus, and Labienus with his fleet. Elated, therefore, by the multitude of his army and by its zeal, he proceeded fearlessly through the country, gaining some cities of their own accord, and others against their will, and seemed to surpass even his father in power. For though Caesar also had generals in Spain, namely Quintus Fabius Maximus and Quintus Pedius, yet they did not regard themselves as a match for Pompey, but remained quiet themselves and kept sending urgently for Caesar. B.C. 46

¹ New Carthage.

- 2 Τέως μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τε προπεμφθέντων τινὲς ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀφίκοντο καὶ προσεδοκήθη καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἤξειν, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ νομίσας οὐχ ἱκανὸς¹ εἶναι πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰβηρίαν κατασχεῖν, οὐκ ἀνέμεινε πταίσας γε² μεταγνῶναι, ἀλλ' εὐθύς, πρὶν πειραθῆναι τῶν
- 3 ἐναντίων, ἐς τὴν Βαιτικὴν ἀνεχώρησε. καὶ αὐτῷ ἢ μὲν θάλασσα παραντίκα ἡλλοτριώθη, Οὐᾶρός τε³ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διδίου περὶ Καρτηλίαν⁴ ἐναυκρατήθη, καὶ εἶγε μὴ προκαταφυγῶν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀγκύρας ἐς τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ἄλλας πρὸς ἄλλαις⁵ ἐνεβεβλήκει⁶ καὶ περὶ αὐτὰς οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν διωκόντων σφᾶς ὥσπερ περὶ ἔρμα ἐπταίκεσαν, πᾶν ἂν τὸ
- 4 ναυτικὸν ἀπωλωλέκει. ἢ δὲ δὴ ἡπειρος ἢ ἐκεῖ πᾶσα πλην Οὐλίας πόλεως συνεμάχει· ταύτην γὰρ μὴ ἐβελήσασάν οἱ προσχωρήσαι⁷ ἐπολιόρκει.
- 32 Κὰν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ μετ' ὀλίγων ἐξαίφνης ἀδοκήτοις οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις ἐπῆλθε· τοσούτῳ γὰρ τῷ τῆς πορείας τάχει ἐχρήσατο ὥστε καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἅμα καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὀφθῆναι πρὶν καὶ ὅτι ὅλως ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ γέγονεν ἀκουσθῆναι.
- 2 καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τούτου, τῆς τε παρουσίας τῆς αὐτοῦ μόνης, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα καταπλήξειν τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπαλλάξειν ἤλπισε· τὸ γὰρ πλείον στρατεύμα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν

¹ ἱκανὸς R. Steph., ἱκανὸν L. ² γε H. Steph., τε L.

³ τε Bk., δὲ L.

⁴ Καρτηλίαν Bk., κραυτίαν L. (κάρτια in ch. 40).

⁵ ἔλλαις H. Steph., ἔλλας L.

⁶ ἐνεβεβλήκει Bk., προσεβεβλήκει L.

⁷ προσχωρήσαι R. Steph., προχωρήσαι L.

BOOK XLIII

For a time matters went on thus ; but when a few B C. 40
of the men sent in advance from Rome had reached there, and Caesar's arrival was also expected, Pompey became frightened ; and thinking that he was not strong enough to gain the mastery of all Spain, he did not wait for a reverse before changing his mind, but immediately, before making trial of his adversaries, retired into Baetica. The sea, moreover, straightway became hostile to him, and Varus was defeated in a naval battle near Carteia by Didius ; indeed, had he not escaped to the land and sunk a row of anchors side by side at the mouth of the harbour, upon which the foremost pursuers were wrecked as upon a reef, he would have lost his whole fleet. All that region of the mainland except the city of Ulia was in alliance with Pompey ; and this town, which had refused to submit to him, he proceeded to besiege.

Meanwhile Caesar, too, with a few men suddenly came up unexpectedly, not only to Pompey's followers, but even to his own soldiers. For he had employed such speed in crossing over that he appeared to both his adherents and his opponents before they had even heard that he was in Spain at all. He hoped by this very circumstance and by his mere presence to alarm Pompey and in particular to lure him from the siege ; for most of his army had been left behind on the road. But Pompey, thinking that one

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ὑπελέλειπτο· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἓνα τε ἄνδρα ἐνὸς οὐ¹
 πολὺ διαφέρειν νομίζων, καὶ τῇ ἰσχύϊ ἑαυτοῦ
 πάνυ θαρσῶν, οὐκ ἐξεπλάγη πρὸς τὴν ἀφίξιν
 αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσήδρευε τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς
 3 προσβολὰς ὁμοίως ὥσπερ καὶ πρὶν ἐποιεῖτο. ὁ
 οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐκεῖ μὲν ὀλίγους στρατιώτας ἐκ τῶν
 προαφιγμένων κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Κόρδουβαν
 ὤρμησε, τὸ μὲν τι καὶ αἵρήσειν αὐτὴν ἐκ προδο-
 σίας ἐλπίσας, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον ἀπάξειν ἀπὸ τῆς
 Οὐλίας τὸν Πομπήιον τῷ περὶ αὐτῆς φόβῳ
 4 προσδοκήσας. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως· τὸ μὲν γὰρ
 πρῶτον μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατὰ χώραν ἑάσας
 ἔς τε τὴν Κόρδουβαν ἦλθε, καὶ κρατυνάμενος
 αὐτὴν, οὐχ ὑπομείναντός σφας τοῦ Καίσαρος, τῷ
 5 ἀδελφῷ τῷ Σέξτῳ προσέταξεν· ἔπειτα δὲ ὥς οὔτε
 τι πρὸς τῇ Οὐλίᾳ ἐπέραινε, ἀλλὰ καὶ πύργου
 τινός, καὶ τούτου οὐχ ὑπὸ σφῶν κατασεισθέντος
 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἀμυνομένων
 καταρραγέντος, ἐσῆλθον μὲν τινες, οὐ μὴν καὶ
 6 καλῶς ἀπήλλαξαν, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ πλησιάσας
 σφίσιν ἐκείνοις τε βοήθειαν νυκτὸς λαθὼν
 ἐσέπεμψε καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς τε τὴν Κόρδουβαν αὐθις
 ἐστράτευσε καὶ ἐς πολιορκίαν αὐτὴν ἀντικατέ-
 στησεν, οὕτω δὲ τῆς τε Οὐλίας παντελῶς
 ἀπανέστη καὶ ἐκείσε παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ οὐ μάτην
 ἠπείχθη. προπυθόμενος γὰρ τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ
 7 ἀπεχώρησε· νοσῶν γὰρ ἐτύγχανε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
 αὐτὸς τε ἀναρρωσθεὶς καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἐπα-
 κολουθήσαντά οἱ προσλαβὼν ἠναγκάσθη καὶ ἐν
 τῷ χειμῶνι πολεμῆσαι· ἔν τε γὰρ σκηνιδίοις φαύ-
 λοις αὐλιζόμενοι ἐκακοπάθουν καὶ τῆς τροφῆς ἐνελεί-

¹ οὐ supplied by Leuncl.

BOOK XLIII

man was not much superior to another and feeling full confidence in his own strength, was not seriously alarmed at the other's arrival, but continued to besiege the city and kept making assaults upon it just as before. Hence Caesar left there a few troops from among those who had arrived first and set out himself for Corduba, partly, to be sure, in the hope of taking it by betrayal, but chiefly in the expectation of drawing Pompey away from Ulia through fear for this place. And so it turned out in the end. At first Pompey left a part of his army in position, and going to Corduba, strengthened it, and then, as Caesar did not resist his troops, put his brother Sextus in charge there. After this he failed to accomplish anything at Ulia. On the contrary, when a certain tower had fallen, and that not shaken down by his own men either, but broken down by the crowd that was making a defence from it, a few who rushed in fared badly; and Caesar, approaching, lent assistance secretly by night to the citizens, and marched against Corduba again himself, putting it under siege in turn. Then at last Pompey withdrew entirely from Ulia and hastened to the other town with his entire army, accomplishing the desired result. For Caesar, learning of it in time, retired, as he happened to be ill. Afterwards, when he had recovered and had taken charge of the additional troops who had followed on after him, he was compelled to carry on warfare even in the winter; for, being housed in miserable little huts, they were suffering distress and running

B C 46

- 33 ποντο.¹ ἐδικτατόρευε δὲ δὴ τότε, καὶ² ὕπατος ὄψε ποτε καὶ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἔτους ἀπεδείχθη, τοῦ Λεπίδου ἐν τῇ ἱππαρχίᾳ τὸν δῆμον ἐς τοῦτο συναγαγόντος· ἱππάρχησε γὰρ καὶ τότε, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ἐπειπὼν ἱππαρχον παρὰ τὰ πάτρια.
- 2 Ἀναγκασθεὶς οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὥσπερ εἶπον, καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι πολεμήσαι, τῇ μὲν Κορδούβῃ οὐ προσέβαλεν (ἰσχυρῶς γὰρ ἐφυλάττετο), πυθόμενος δὲ ἐν Ἀττεγούᾳ πόλει σῖτον πολὺν εἶναι πρὸς ἐκείνην καίτοι καρτερὰν οὔσαν ἐτράπετο, ἐλπίσας τῷ τε πλήθει τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τῇ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ αἰφνιδίῳ ἐκπλήξει καταφοβήσας σφᾶς αἰρήσειν· καὶ αὐτὴν διὰ βραχέος καὶ ἀπεσταύρωσε καὶ περιετάφρευσεν. ὁ γὰρ Πομπήιος τῇ φύσει τοῦ χωρίου θαρσῶν, καὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα προσεδρεύσειν αὐτῷ νομίζων, τοὺς τε ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας μὴ βουληθεὶς ἐν τῷ ῥίγῃ κακῶσαι, περιεῖδε³ καὶ οὐκ
- 4 ἐπήμυνεν αὐτοῖς τήν γε πρώτην· ὕστερον γάρ, ὥς τό τε πόλισμα ἀπετετείχιστο καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῷ προσεκάθητο, δείσας ἐπεβοήθησέ σφισι, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐξαίφνης ὁμιχλώδους τοῖς προφύλαξι προσμίξας συχνοὺς ἔφθειρεν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἀστρατήγητοι οἱ ἔνδον ἦσαν, Μουνάτιον αὐτοῖς Φλάκκον
- 34 ἐσέπεμψεν. ἡδυνήθη γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὧδε εἶσω παρελθεῖν. νύκτωρ τῶν φυλάκων τινας μόνους, ὥς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς ἐφοδείαν ἀπεσταλμένος, ἀνήρετο τὸ σύνθημα, καὶ μαθὼν (οὔτε γὰρ ἐγινώσκετο, καὶ κατὰ μόνας οὐκ ἂν ποτε ὑπωπτεύθη

¹ ἐνελεῖποντο H. Steph., ἐνελεῖποντο L² καὶ R. Steph., γὰρ L.³ περιεῖδε Rk., προεῖδε L.

BOOK XLIII

short of food. Caesar was at that time dictator, and at length, near the close of the year, he was appointed consul, after Lepidus, who was master of the horse, had convoked the people for this purpose ; for Lepidus had become master of the horse at that time also, having given himself, while still in the consulship, that additional title contrary to precedent. B.C. 46

Caesar, accordingly, being compelled, as I have said, to carry on warfare even in the winter, did not attack Corduba, which was strongly guarded, but turned his attention to Ategua, a city in which he had learned there was an abundance of grain. Although it was a strong place, he hoped by the size of his army and the sudden terror of his appearance to alarm the inhabitants and capture it. And in a short time he had cut it off by a palisade and surrounded it by a ditch. For Pompey, encouraged by the nature of the place and thinking that Caesar because of the winter would not besiege it very long, paid no heed and did not try at first to repel the assailants, since he was unwilling to distress his own soldiers by the cold. Later, to be sure, when the town had been walled off and Caesar was encamped before it, he grew afraid and came with assistance. Falling in with the pickets suddenly on a misty night, he killed a number of them ; and since the inhabitants were without a general, he sent in to them Munatius Flaccus. For this man contrived in the following way to get inside. He went alone by night to some of the guards, as if appointed by Caesar to visit the sentries, and asked and learned the watchword ; for he was not known, and inasmuch as he was alone, would never have been suspected of being anything but a friend when he B.C. 45

μὴ φίλιός σφισιν ὦν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι) ἐκείνους μὲν
 2 εἶασεν, ἐκπεριελθὼν δὲ ἐτέρωσε τοῦ περιτειχίσμα-
 τος ἄλλοις τισὶ φύλαξιν ἐνέτυχε, καὶ τό τε
 σύνθημα αὐτοῖς εἰπὼν, καὶ ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ τῆς
 πόλεως παρεῖναι¹ πλασάμενος, δι' ἐκόντων τε αὐτῶν
 3 καὶ παραπεμπόντων γε ἐσῆλθεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ
 περιεποιήσατο αὐτήν. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα πολλά,
 καὶ ποτε πῦρ ἔς τε τὰς μηχανὰς καὶ ἐς τὰ
 σταυρώματα τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐμβαλόντες²
 ἐκείνους μὲν οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ ἀξιόλογον ἔβλαψαν,
 αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀνέμου σφίσιν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐν τούτῳ
 4 σφοδροῦ προσπεσόντος κακῶς ἀπήλλαξαν· τά τε
 γὰρ οἰκοδομήματα ἐπεφλέχθη, καὶ ἄνθρωποι
 συχνοὶ τοῖς τε λίθοις καὶ τοῖς βέλεσι, μηδὲ³
 προιδέσθαι τι ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ δυνηθέντες, ἐξώ-
 λοντο. ὥς οὖν τοῦτό τε αὐτοῖς συνεβεβήκει καὶ
 ἡ γῆ ἐπορθεῖτο τοῦ τε τείχους τινὰ⁴ ἐξ ὑπονόμων
 5 ἔπιπτεν, ἐστασίασαν, καὶ πρότερος μὲν ὁ Φλάκκος
 ἐπ' ἀδείᾳ⁵ ἑαυτοῦ⁶ τε καὶ τῶν συνόντων οἱ πρὸς
 τὸν Καίσαρα διεκηρυκεύσατο, ἔπειτα δὲ οὗτος μὲν
 (οὐ γὰρ ἠθέλησε τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῦναι) διήμαρτεν
 αὐτῆς, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ
 ἐπρεσβεύσαντο καὶ συνέβησαν ἐφ' οἷς ἐκελεύοντο.
 35 Ἐκείνης δὲ δὴ τῆς πόλεως ἀλούσης οὐκέτ'
 οὐδὲ⁷ οἱ ἄλλοι ἠτρέμιζον, ἀλλὰ⁸ πολλοὶ μὲν
 αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα πρεσβευσάμενοι μεθίσ-
 ταντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπιόντα αὐτὸν τοὺς τε

¹ παρεῖναι Reim., εἶναι L.² ἐμβαλόντες R. Steph., ἐμβάλλοντες L.³ μηδὲ Bk., μήτε L.⁴ τινὰ Dind., τινὸς L. ⁵ ἀδείᾳ R. Steph., ἀδείας L.⁶ ἑαυτοῦ Bs., αὐτοῦ Bk., αὐτοῦ L.⁷ οὐδὲ St., οὐδὲν L. ⁸ ἀλλὰ Bk., ἀλλὰ L.

BOOK XLIII

acted in this manner. Then he left these men and went around to the other side of the circumvallation where he met some other guards and gave them the watchword; after this he pretended that he was there to betray the city, and so went inside through the midst of the soldiers with their consent and actually under their escort. He could not, however, save the place. In addition to other setbacks there was one occasion when the citizens hurled fire upon the engines and ramparts of the Romans, although without doing them any damage worth mentioning, while they themselves fared ill by reason of a violent wind which just then began to blow toward them from the opposite direction; for their houses were set on fire and many persons perished from the stones and missiles, not being able to see any distance ahead of them for the smoke. After this disaster, as their land was being ravaged, and portions of their wall were collapsing as the result of mines, they began to riot. Flaccus first made overtures to Caesar on the basis of pardon for himself and his followers; but afterwards, when he failed of this owing to his refusal to surrender his arms, the natives sent envoys and submitted to the terms imposed upon them.

Upon the capture of this city the other tribes also no longer held back, but many of their own accord sent envoys and espoused Caesar's cause, and many received him or his lieutenants on their approach.

- 2 ὑποστρατήγους αὐτοῦ ἐδέχοντο, ὥστε τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπορήσαντα ὃ τι χρή πρᾶξαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ τῆς χώρας μεθιστάμενον πλανᾶσθαι, ἔπειτα δὲ φοβηθέντα μὴ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τούτου καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ αὐτὸν ἐγκαταλίπωσι, διακινδυνεύσαι ἐθελῆσαι, καίτοι τοῦ δαιμονίου τὴν ἦτταν ἐναργέστατα αὐτῷ προσημῆ-
 3 ναντος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἰδρῶτες τῶν ἀγαλμάτων καὶ αἱ ἡχαὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων, τά τε ζῶα ἃ¹ πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν ἐγεννήθη, καὶ αἱ δᾶδες αἱ πρὸς τὰς δυσμὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀνατολῶν ἄπτουσαι (ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ τότε ἅμα πάντα συνηνέχθη) σαφές οὐδέν, ὅποτέροις σφῶν
 4 προφαίνοιτο, διεδήλου. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἀετοὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων αὐτοῦ τὰς τε πτέρυγας σείσαντες καὶ τοὺς κεραυνούς, οὓς ἐν τοῖς ποσὶ τινες αὐτῶν χρυσοῦς ἔφερον, ἐκβαλόντες ἐκείνῳ τε τὸ κακὸν ἄντικρυς ἐνέσκηπτον καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπεπέτοντο. ἀλλ' ἦγε γὰρ² τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἐν τε ὀλιγωρίᾳ αὐτὸ ἐποίησατο, καὶ ἐς πόλιν Μοῦνδαν³ πρὸς μάχην δὴ κατέστη.
- 36 Εἶχον μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τε πολιτικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ξενικοῖς στρατεύμασι πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ Μαύρων ἀμφοτέροι. Βόκχος μὲν γὰρ τοὺς νιείεις τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἔπεμψε, Βογούας δὲ αὐτὸς τῷ Καίσαρι συνεστράτευσεν. ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν οὐχ ὥς τῶν ἄλλων ἀλλ' ὥς αὐ-
 2 τῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο. οἳ τε γὰρ Καισάρειοι στρατιῶται τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ παρὰ

¹ ἃ supplied by Xyl.² ἀλλ' ἦγε γὰρ Kuiper, ἄλλῃ τε γὰρ L.³ πόλιν Μοῦνδαν Bs., πόλεμον L.

BOOK XLIII

Pompey, in consequence, being at a loss what to do, at first moved about and wandered from place to place through the country; later on he became afraid that as a result of this very course the rest of his adherents would also leave him in the lurch, and he chose to risk a decisive battle, although Heaven had beforehand indicated his defeat very clearly. To be sure, the drops of sweat that fell from the sacred statues, and the rumbling noises of legions, and the many creatures that were born outside their own species, and the torches darting from the east to the west, all of which signs occurred in Spain at that one time, did not make it clear to which of the two leaders they were revealing the future. But the eagles of Pompey's legions shook their wings and let fall the thunderbolts which they held in their talons, in some cases of gold; thus they seemed to be hurling the threatened disaster directly at Pompey and to be flying off of their own accord to Caesar. But he made light of it, for Destiny was leading him on; thus he established himself in the city of Munda in order to give battle.

Both leaders had in addition to their citizen and mercenary troops many of the natives and many Moors. For Bocchus had sent his sons to Pompey and Bogud in person made the campaign with Caesar. Still, the contest turned out to be like one between the Romans themselves, not between them and other nations. Caesar's soldiers derived courage from their numbers and experience and above all from their

παντα τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου παρουσίᾳ θαρσοῦντες ἀπαλλαγήναί ποτε τοῦ τε πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κακῶν ἐσπούδαζον, καὶ οἱ Πομπηΐοι τοῦτοις μὲν ἐλαττούμενοι, τῇ δ' ἀπογνώσει τῆς σωτηρίας, 3 ἂν μὴ κρατήσωσιν, ἐρρωμένοι προεθυμούντο· οἷα γὰρ μετὰ τε τοῦ Ἀφρανίου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Οὐάρρωνος οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν καὶ ἀλόντες καὶ σωθέντες, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῷ τε Λογγίνῳ ἀποδοθέντες καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀποστάντες, οὔτε τινα ἐλπίδα συγγνώμης ἡττηθέντες εἶχον, κακ τούτου πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν, ὥς καὶ κρατῆσαι¹ τότε² ἢ πάντως γε 4 ἀπολέσθαι δεόμενοι, προήχθησαν. συμμίζαντες οὖν ἐμάχοντο· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ αἰδῶ τινα ἀλλήλων εἶχον ἔτι, τοσαυτάκις³ ἀντιπεπολεμηκότες, καὶ 37 διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲ παραινέσεώς τινος δεόμενοι. κἂν τούτῳ τὰ μὲν συμμαχικὰ ταχέως ἐκατέρωθεν ἐτράπη καὶ ἔφυγεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκείνοι συσταδὸν ἀνακόπτοντες⁴ ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ πλείστον ἡγωνίσαντο. οὐδὲ γὰρ⁵ ἐνέδωκεν αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἐν χώρᾳ μένοντες ἔσφαζον ἔθνησκον, ὥς καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἢ τῆς νίκης ἢ τῆς ἡττης καὶ 2 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν αἷτιος ἐσόμενος. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἔμελεν αὐτοῖς ὁρᾶν ὅπως οἱ σύμμαχοί σφων ἐμάχοντο, ἀλλ' ὥς καὶ μόνοι κινδυνεύοντες προεθυμούντο.⁶ καὶ οὔτε ἐπαιωνίζε⁷ τις αὐτῶν οὔτε ἔστενευ, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτο⁸ μόνον ἐκάτεροι

¹ κρατῆσαι Wagner, θαρσῆσαι L. ² τότε Bk., πότε L.

³ ἔτι τοσαυτάκις Xyl, ἐπιτοσαυτάκις L.

⁴ ἀνακόπτοντες Naber, ἀντικόπτοντες L.

⁵ οὐδὲ γὰρ R. Steph., οὔτε L.

⁶ προεθυμούντο Bk., ὑπερεθυμούντο L.

⁷ ἐπαιωνίζε Bs., after Bk., ἐπαιωνίζετο L.

⁸ τοσοῦτο R. Steph., τοσοῦτω L, τοσοῦτον ?

BOOK XLIII

leader's presence, and so were anxious to be done with the war and its attendant miseries. Pompey's men were inferior in these respects, but, becoming strong through their despair of safety, should they fail to conquer, they were full of eagerness. For inasmuch as the majority of them had been captured with Afranius and Varro, had been spared, and afterwards delivered to Longinus, and had revolted from him, they had no hope of safety if they were beaten, and hence were reduced to desperation, feeling that they must now win or else perish utterly.¹ So the armies came together and began the battle; for they no longer felt any compunction at killing each other, since they had been so many times opposed in arms, and hence required no urging. Thereupon the allies on both sides were quickly routed and fled; but the legions themselves struggled in close combat to the utmost in their resistance of each other. Not a man of them would yield; they remained in their places slaying and perishing, as if each individual were to be responsible to all the rest as well for the issue of victory or defeat. Consequently they were not concerned to see how their allies were battling, but fought as eagerly as if they alone were struggling. Neither sound of paeon nor groan was to be heard from any one of them, but both sides merely shouted

B.C. 45

¹ Cf. note on p. 231.

- βοῶντες, “παῖσον, ἀπόκτεινον,” πολὺ τῷ ἔργῳ
 3 τὰς γλώσσας σφῶν ἔφθανον. ὁρῶντες οὖν ταῦτα
 ἀπὸ τε ἵππων καὶ ἀπὸ μετεώρων τινῶν χωρίων
 ὃ τε Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος οὐκ εἶχον οὔθ’
 ὅπως ἐλπίσωσιν¹ οὔθ’ ὅπως ἀπογνῶσιν, ἀλλ’
 ἀμφίβολοι ταῖς γνώμαις γιγνόμενοι δι’ ἴσου καὶ
 4 τῷ δέει καὶ τῷ θάρσει ἐκακοπάθουν. ἀντιπάλου
 γὰρ τῆς μάχης οὔσης ταῖς τε ὄψεσι δεινῶς
 ἔκαμνον, ἐπιθυμοῦντές τι ἰδεῖν πλεονέκτημα καὶ
 ὀκνοῦντές τι ἰδεῖν ἐλάττωμα, καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς,
 εὐχόμενοί τέ τι ἅμα καὶ ἀπευχόμενοι καὶ ῥων-
 νύμενοι καὶ φοβούμενοι. οὐκουν οὔδ’ ἠδυνήθησαν
 ἐπὶ πολὺ καρτερῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καταπηδήσαντες
 5 ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων συμμετέσχον αὐτῆς. οὔτω
 πού τῷ τοῦ σώματος καὶ πόνῳ καὶ κινδύνῳ
 μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς συντάσει συνεῖναι²
 εἴλοντο, ῥοπήν τινα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις
 ἐκάτερος τῇ τῆς μάχης κοινωνίᾳ παρέξειν ἐλπί-
 σαντες· ἢ εἶγε ἐκείνης ἀμάρτοιν, συντελευτήσαί
 γε αὐτοῖς ἠθέλησαν.
- 38 Καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐμάχοντο· τοῖς δὲ δὴ
 στρατοπέδοις πλεονεξία μὲν οὐδεμία οὐδετέροις
 ἐκ τούτου ἐγένετο, μακρῷ δὲ δὴ πλείων,³ ὥς
 ἐκείνους συγκινδυνεύοντάς σφισιν εἶδον, τοῦ τε
 σφετέρου θανάτου καταφρόνησις καὶ τοῦ τῶν
 ἐναντίων ὀλέθρου ἔφεσις ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως ἐνέ-
 2 πεσε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε ἔφυγον τότε γε οὐ-
 δέτεροι, ἀλλ’ ἰσοπαλεῖς ταῖς γνώμαις ὄντες
 ἰσοκρατεῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐγίγνοντο· καὶ

¹ οὔθ’ ὅπως ἐλπίσωσιν supplied by “N” in Reimar’s ed.

² συνεῖναι Leuncl., συνιέναι L.

³ πλείων R. Steph., πλείω L.

BOOK XLIII

"Strike! Kill!", while their deeds easily outran B.C. 45
their words. Caesar and Pompey, who witnessed these struggles from horseback from certain elevated positions, had no ground for either hope or despair, but, with their minds torn by doubts, were equally distressed by confidence and by fear. The battle was so evenly balanced that they suffered tortures at the sight as they strained to spy out some advantage, and shrank from discovering some setback. In mind, too, they suffered tortures, as they prayed for success and against misfortune, alternating between strength and fear. Therefore they were unable to endure it long, but leaped from their horses and joined in the conflict. Thus they preferred to share in it by personal exertion and danger rather than by tension of spirit, and each hoped by his participation in the fight to turn the scale somehow in favour of his own troops; or, failing that, they wished to die with them.

The leaders, then, took part in the battle themselves; yet no advantage came of this to either army. On the contrary, when the men saw their chiefs sharing their danger, a far greater disregard for their own death and eagerness for the destruction of their opponents seized both alike. Accordingly neither side for the moment turned to flight, but, matched in determination, they proved also to be matched in physical strength. All would have

πάντες ἀπέθανον ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀγχώμαλοι διεκρίθησαν, εἰ μὴ ὃ τε¹ Βογούας ἔξωθέ που τῶν συνεστηκότων ὦν ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατόπεδον ὥρμησε, καὶ ὁ Λαβιήνος ὡς τοῦτο εἶδε, τὴν τε τάξιν ἐξέλιπε καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνον ἐτράπετο.

- 3 φεύγειν γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ Πομπηῖοι νομίσαντες ἠθύμησαν. καὶ ἔμαθον μὲν που τὸ ἀληθὲς ὕστερον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν ἑαυτοὺς ἔτ' ἠδυνήθησαν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ τάφρευμα ἀποφυγόντες οὗτοί τε τοὺς προσμίξαντάς σφίσιν ἰσχυρῶς ἀπεμαχέσαντο, καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε ἔπεσον πρὶν ἀμφίβολοι γενέσθαι, 4 καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ πολὺ διέσωσαν, ὥστε μὴ πρότερον αὐτὸ ἀλῶναι πρὶν πάντας σφᾶς ἐν ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς ἀπολέσθαι. τοσοῦτον δ' οὖν τὸ σύνολον τῶν Ῥωμαίων πάθος ἐκατέρωθεν ἐγένετο ὥστ' ἀπορήσαντας ὅπως τὴν πόλιν, μὴ καὶ νυκτὸς ἐκδρῶσί τινες, ἀποτειχίσωσιν, αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα τῶν νεκρῶν αὐτῇ περινήσαι.²

- 39 Κρατήσας δὲ οὕτως ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ τὴν Κόρδουβαν εὐθὺς ἔλαβεν· ὃ τε γὰρ Σέξτος οἱ προεξεχώρησε,³ καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καίτοι τῶν δούλων ἀνθισταμένων σφίσιν ἐπειδήπερ ἠλευθέρωντο, 2 προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὃς τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας ἀπέσφαξε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐξηργυρίσατο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἰσπανίαν ἔχοντας ἔδρασεν, οἱ⁴ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς καὶ ἐκούσιοι φρουρὰν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐσεδέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ διαφθείραντες τοὺς ἐλθόντας ἐπολέμησαν. 3 ἐπεστράτευσέ τε οὖν ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ ἀμελέστερον

¹ ὃ τε Bk., ὅτι γε L. ² περινήσαι Madvig, ἐρινῆσαι L.

³ προεξεχώρησε Xyl., προσεξεχώρησε L.

⁴ ἔδρασεν οἱ Bk., ἔδρασε καὶ L.

BOOK XLIII

perished or at nightfall they would have parted with honours even, had not Bogud, who was somewhere outside the conflict, set out for Pompey's camp, whereupon Labienus, observing this, left his station and proceeded against him. Pompey's men, then, supposing him to be in flight, lost heart; and though later, of course, they learned the truth, they could no longer recover themselves. Some fled to the city, some to the rampart. The latter body vigorously fought off their assailants and fell only when attacked from all sides, while the former long held the wall safe, so that it was not captured till all had perished in sallies. So great was the total loss of Romans on both sides that the victors, at a loss how to wall in the city to prevent any from running away in the night, actually heaped up the bodies of the dead around it.

Caesar, having thus conquered, straightway took Corduba also. For Sextus had retired out of his way and the natives came over to his side, although their slaves, since they had been made free, resisted them. He slew the slaves under arms and sold the rest. And he adopted the same course also with those who held Hispalis; for they had at first pretended to accept a garrison from him willingly, but afterwards destroyed the soldiers who came there, and entered upon war. So he made a campaign against them,

- δῆθεν προσεδρεύων ἐλπίδας σφίσιν ὥς καὶ διαφυγεῖν δυνησομένοις παρέσχε. καὶ τούτου περι-
 ορῶν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἐξιόντας ἐκείνους
 τε ἐλόχιζε καὶ ἀπώλλυε, καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὕτως
 4 ἀνδρῶν κατὰ βραχὺ ἐρημωθείσαν εἶλε. καὶ μετὰ
 τούτο καὶ τὴν Μοῦνδαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, τὰ μὲν
 ἀκούσια σὺν πολλῷ φόνῳ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐθελούσια
 παρέλαβε καὶ ἡργυρολόγησεν, ὥστε μηδὲ τῶν τοῦ
 Ἡρακλέους ἀναθημάτων τῶν ἐν τοῖς Γαδείροις
 ἀνακειμένων φείσασθαι, χώρας τέ τινων ἀπετέ-
 μετο, καὶ ἑτέροις τὸν φόρον προσεπηύξησε.
 5 ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς ἀντιπολεμήσαντάς οἱ ἔδρασε, τοῖς¹
 δὲ εὐνοϊάν τινα αὐτοῦ σχοῦσιν ἔδωκε μὲν καὶ
 χωρία καὶ ἀτέλειαν, πολιτείαν τέ τισι, καὶ ἄλλοις
 ἀποίκους τῶν Ῥωμαίων νομίζεσθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ
 προῖκα αὐτὰ ἐχαρίσατο.
- 40 Καῖσαρ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραττε, Πομπήιος δὲ
 διαφυγὼν πῶς ἐν τῇ τροπῇ ἦλθε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν
 θάλασσαν ὥς καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ τῷ ἐν τῇ Καρτηγίᾳ
 ὁρμῶντι χρησόμενος, εὐρῶν δὲ αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν
 κρατοῦντα ἀποκεκλικότας ἐπέβη μὲν πλοίου τινός,
 2 προσδοκήσας ἐπ' αὐτοῦ διαδράσεσθαι,² πληγείς
 δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ἀθυμήσας τῇ τε γῇ αὐθις προσ-
 ἔσχε, κἀνταῦθα συνελθόντας τινὰς παραλαβὼν
 πρὸς τὴν μεσόγειαν ὥρμησε. καὶ αὐτὸς τε
 Καίσεινίῳ Λέντωνι περιπεσὼν ἡττήθη, καὶ ἐς
 ὕλην τινα καταφυγὼν ἐφθάρη· καὶ ὁ Δίδιος
 ἀγνοῶν τε τούτο, καὶ πλανώμενος ὥς καὶ συμ-
 μίξων πού αὐτῷ, συνέτυχεν ἑτέροις τισὶ καὶ
 ἀπώλετο.

¹ τοῖς R. Steph., τοὺς L.² διαδράσεσθαι Bk., διαδράσασθαι L.

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and by appearing to conduct the siege in a rather careless fashion he gave them some hope of being able to escape. After this he would allow them to come outside the wall, where he would ambush and destroy them; in this way he captured the town, which had been gradually stripped of its men. Later he acquired Munda and the other places, some against their will and with great slaughter and others of their own accord. He levied tribute so rigorously that he did not even spare the offerings consecrated to Hercules in Gades; and he also took land from some cities and laid an added tribute upon others. This was his course toward those who had opposed him; but to those who had displayed any good-will toward him he granted lands and exemption from taxation, to some also citizenship, and to others the status of Roman colonists; he did not, however, grant these favours for nothing. B C 45

While Caesar was thus occupied, Pompey, who had escaped in the rout, reached the sea, intending to use the fleet that lay at anchor at Carteia, but found that the men had gone over to the victor's side. He then embarked on a vessel, expecting to escape in this manner; but being wounded in the course of the attempt, he lost heart and put back to land, and then, taking with him some men who had assembled, set out for the interior. He met Caesennius Lento and was defeated; and taking refuge in a wood, perished there. Didius, ignorant of his fate, while wandering about in the hope of meeting him somewhere, met some other troops and perished.

- 41 Είλετο δ' ἂν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκεῖ πον πρὸς τε τῶν
 ἔτι ἀνθεστηκότων καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ πολέμου δόξῃ
 πεπτωκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὅπερ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἔπαθεν,
 ἐν τε τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ πρὸς τῶν
 2 φιλτάτων σφαγῆναι. τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον
 τελευταῖον κατώρθωσε καὶ ταύτην τὴν νίκην
 ἐσχάτην ἀνείλετο, καίπερ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων τῶν μεγίστων καταπράξειν ἐλπίσας διὰ
 τε τᾶλλα, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὅτι βλαστός τις ἐκ
 φοίνικος ἐν τῷ τῆς μάχης χωρίῳ ὄντος εὐθύς ἐπὶ
 3 τῇ νίκῃ ἐξέφυ. καὶ οὐ λέγω μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἔφερε¹
 ποι² τοῦτο, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνῳ γε ἔτι, ἀλλὰ τῷ τῆς
 ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγγόνῳ τῷ Ὀκταουίῳ· συνε-
 στρατεύετό τε γὰρ αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πόνων τῶν
 τε κινδύνων αὐτοῦ ἐκλάμψειν ἔμελλεν. ἀγνοῶν
 δ' οὖν τοῦτο, καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ἔτι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα
 ἐλπίζων, οὐδὲν μέτριον ἔπραττεν, ἀλλ' ὥς καὶ
 42 ἀθάνατος ὢν ὑπερεφρόνησε. τά τε γὰρ ἐπινίκια,
 καίτοι μηδεὶς ἀλλοτρίου κρατήσας ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τοσοῦτο πλῆθος πολιτῶν ἀπολέσας, οὐ μόνον
 αὐτὸς ἔπεμψε, πάντα τὸν δῆμον ἐν αὐτοῖς ὥς καὶ
 ἐπὶ κοινοῖς τισιν ἀγαθοῖς αὐθις ἐστιάσας, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ Κυνίτῳ τῷ τε Κυνίτῳ Πεδίῳ,³
 καίτοι ὑποστρατηγήσασιν αὐτῷ καὶ μηδὲν ἰδίᾳ
 2 κατορθώσασι, διεορτάσαι ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ ἦν μὲν
 πον γέλως ἐπὶ τε τούτῳ, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ξυλίταις
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλεφαντίταις ἔργων τέ τινων εἰκόσιν
 ἄλλοις τε τοιούτοις πομπείοις ἐχρήσαντο· οὐ
 μὴν ἀλλ' ἐμφανέστατα τριττά τε νικητήρια καὶ

¹ οὐκ ἔφερε Casaub., συνέφερε L.² ποι Bk., πηι L.³ τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ Κυνίτῳ τῷ τε Κυνίτῳ Πεδίῳ Mommsen, τῷ
 Φαβίῳ τῷ τε Κυνίτῳ L.

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Caesar, too, would doubtless have chosen to fall there, at the hands of those who were still resisting and amid the glory of war, in preference to the fate he met not long afterward of being murdered in his own land and in the senate at the hands of his dearest friends. For this was the last war that he carried through successfully, and this the last victory that he won, in spite of the fact that there was no other project so great that he did not hope to accomplish it. In this hope he was confirmed especially by the circumstance that from a palm that stood on the site of the battle a shoot grew out immediately after the victory. Now I do not assert that this had no bearing in some direction, yet it was no longer for him, but for his sister's grandson, Octavius; for the latter was making the campaign with him, and was destined to gain great lustre from his toils and dangers. As Caesar did not know this, and hoped that many great successes would still fall to his own lot, he showed no moderation, but was filled with arrogance, as if immortal. For, although he had conquered no foreign nation, but had destroyed a vast number of citizens, he not only celebrated the triumph himself, incidentally feasting the entire populace once more, as if in honour of some common blessing, but also allowed Quintus Fabius and Quintus Pedius to hold a celebration, although they had merely been his lieutenants and had achieved no individual success. Naturally this occasioned ridicule, as did also the fact that they used wooden instead of ivory representations of certain achievements together with other similar triumphal apparatus. Nevertheless, most brilliant triple triumphs and

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- τριτταὶ πομπαὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐποιήθησαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἱερομηνῖαι ἐπὶ πεν-
 3 τήκοντα ἡμέρας ἤχθησαν. τὰ τε¹ Παρίλια ἱπποδρομία ἀθανάτῳ, οὔτι γε καὶ διὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔκτιστο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος νίκην, ὅτι ἡ ἀγγελία αὐτῆς τῇ προτεραιᾷ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἀφίκετο, ἐτιμήθη.
- 43 Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἔδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν τε στολὴν τὴν ἐπινίκιον ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πανηγύρεσι κατὰ δόγμα ἐνεδύετο, καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ τῷ δαφνίνῳ αἰὲ καὶ πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἐκοσμεῖτο. καὶ πρόφασιν μὲν ἐποιεῖτο τούτου² ὅτι ἀναφаланτίας ἦν, παρείχε δὲ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου λόγον τινά, καὶ ὅτι³ τότε ἔτι, καίπερ παρηβηκῶς, ἐς κάλλος ἤσκει.
- 2 τῇ τε γὰρ ἐσθῆτι χαυνότερα ἐν πᾶσιν ἐνηβρύνετο, καὶ τῇ ὑποδέσει καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐνίοτε καὶ ὑψηλῇ καὶ ἐρυθροχρόῳ κατὰ τοὺς βασιλέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀλβῇ ποτὲ γενομένους, ὡς καὶ προσήκων
- 3 σφίσι διὰ τὸν Ἰουλον,⁴ ἐχρήτο. τό τε ὅλον τῇ τε Ἀφροδίτῃ πᾶς ἀνέκειτο,⁵ καὶ πείθειν πάντας ἠθέλεν⁶ ὅτι καὶ ἄνθος τι ὥρας ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἔχοι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γλύμμα αὐτῆς ἔνοπλον ἐφόρει, καὶ σύνθημα αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ μεγίστοις
- 4 κινδύνοις ἐποιεῖτο. τὸ δ' οὖν χαῦνον τοῦ ζώματος⁷ αὐτοῦ ὁ μὲν Σύλλας ὑπετόπησεν, ὥστε καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτὸν ἐβελήσαι, τοῖς τε ἐξαιτησαμένοις εἰπεῖν⁸ ὅτι “ ἐγὼ μὲν χαριοῦμαι τοῦτον ὑμῖν, ὑμεῖς μέντοι καὶ πάνυ τοῦτον τὸν κακῶς ζωννύ-
- ¹ τε Rk., τε γὰρ L ² τούτου Rk., τοῦτο L.
³ ἔτι supplied by Leuncl. ⁴ Ἰουλον Xyl., ἰούλιον L.
⁵ ἀνέκειτο Xyl., ἀνεκινεῖτο L.
⁶ πάντας ἠθέλεν R. Steph., πάντες ἠθέλων L.
⁷ ζώματος Xyl., σώματος L. Xiph. ⁸ εἰπεῖν Xiph., εἶπεν L.

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triple processions of the Romans were held in honour of those very events, and furthermore a thanksgiving of fifty days was observed. The Parilia was honoured by permanent annual games in the Circus, yet not at all because the city had been founded on that day, but because the news of Caesar's victory had arrived the day before, toward evening B C. 45

Such was his gift to Rome. For himself, he wore the triumphal garb, by decree, at all the games, and was adorned with the laurel crown always and everywhere alike. The excuse that he gave for it was that his forehead was bald; yet he gave occasion for talk by this very circumstance that at that time, though well past youth, he still bestowed attention upon his appearance. He used to show among all men his pride in rather loose clothing, and the footwear which he used later on was sometimes high and of a reddish colour, after the style of the kings who had once reigned in Alba, for he claimed that he was related to them through Iulus. In general he was absolutely devoted to Venus, and was anxious to persuade everybody that he had received from her a kind of bloom of youth. Accordingly he used also to wear a carven image of her in full armour on his ring and he made her name his watchword in almost all the greatest dangers. Sulla had looked askance at the looseness of his girdle,¹ so much so that he had wished to kill him, and declared to those who begged him off: "Well, I will grant him to you; but be thoroughly

¹ Implying licentiousness and general laxity of morals.

μενον φυλάττεσθε·” ὁ δὲ δὴ Κικέρων οὐ συνενοή-
 5 σεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφαλεῖς ἔφη ὅτι “οὐκ ἄν ποτε
 προσεδόκησα τὸν κακῶς οὕτω ζωννύμενον Πομ-
 πηίου κρατήσειν.”

Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐκβολῇ τοῦ λόγου, ὥστε
 μηδένα μηδὲν τῶν περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος λεγομένων
 44 ἀγνοῆσαι, ἔγραψα.¹ ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῇ νίκῃ ἐκεῖνά τε
 ὅσα εἶπον ἢ γερουσία ἔγνω, καὶ προσέτι αὐτόν
 τε Ἐλευθερωτὴν καὶ ἐκάλουν καὶ ἐς τὰ γραμματεῖα
 ἀνέγραφον, καὶ νεῶν Ἐλευθερίας δημοσίᾳ ἐψηφί-
 2 σαντο. τό τε τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα οὐ κατὰ
 τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔτι μόνον, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ἐκεῖνος
 πολλάκις² ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἐπεκλήθησαν, οὐδ' ὡς
 οἱ τινα αὐτοτελῇ ἡγεμονίαν ἢ καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ
 ἐξουσίαν λαβόντες ὠνομάζοντο, ἀλλὰ καθάπαξ
 τοῦτο δὴ τὸ καὶ νῦν τοῖς τὸ κράτος ἀεὶ ἔχουσι
 διδόμενον ἐκείνῳ τότε πρώτῳ τε καὶ πρώτον,
 3 ὥσπερ τι κύριον, προσέθεσαν. καὶ τοσαύτη γε³
 ὑπερβολὴ κολακείας ἐχρήσαντο ὥστε καὶ τοὺς
 παῖδας τοὺς τε ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ οὕτω καλεῖσθαι
 ψηφίσασθαι, μήτε τέκνον τι αὐτοῦ ἔχοντος καὶ
 γέροντος ἤδη ὄντος. ὁθενπερ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς
 μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορας ἢ ἐπὶ κλησις αὕτη,⁴
 ὥσπερ τις ἰδίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν οὕσα καθάπερ
 4 καὶ ἡ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀφίκετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ
 ἀρχαῖον ἐκ τούτου κατελύθη, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἐκάτερον·
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δεύτερον ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐπάγεται,
 ὅταν νίκην τινὰ τοιαύτην ἀνέλωνται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο αὐτοκράτορες ἅπαξ τῇ προσηγορίᾳ

¹ ἔγραψα Rk., διέγραψα L.

² πολλάκις Rk., ὡς πολλάκις L. ³ γε H. Steph., τε L.

⁴ ἢ ἐπὶ κλησις αὐτῇ Leuncl., τῇ ἐπικλήσει αὐτῇ L.

on your guard against this ill-girt fellow." And B.C. 40
Cicero could not comprehend it, but even in the moment of defeat said: "I should never have expected one so ill-girt to conquer Pompey."

This I have written by way of digression from my history, so that no one might be ignorant of any of the stories told about Caesar. In honour of his victory the senate passed all those decrees that I have mentioned, and further called him "Liberator," entering it also in the records, and voted for a public temple of Liberty. Moreover, they now applied to him first and for the first time, as a kind of proper name, the title of *imperator*, no longer merely following the ancient custom by which others as well as Caesar had often been saluted as a result of their wars, nor even as those who received some independent command or other authority were called by this name, but giving him once for all the same title that is now granted to those who hold successively the supreme power. And such excessive flattery did they employ as even to vote that his sons and grandsons should be given the same title, though he had no child and was already an old man. From him this title has come down to all subsequent emperors, as one peculiar to their office, just like the title "Caesar." The ancient custom has not, however, been thereby overthrown, but both usages exist side by side. Consequently the emperors are invested with it a second time when they gain some such victory as has been mentioned. For those who are *imperatores* in the special sense use

- 1 ταύτη, ὥσπερ¹ ταῖς ἄλλαις, καὶ πρώτη γε
 5 χρώνται· οἱ² δ' ἂν καὶ διὰ πολέμων ἄξιόν τι
 αὐτῆς κατορθώσωσι, καὶ ἐκείνην τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 ἀρχαίου προσλαμβάνουσι, καὶ τούτου καὶ δεύ-
 τερόν τις καὶ τρίτον πλεονάκεις τε, ὡσάκεις ἂν
 παράσχη οἱ, αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπονομάζεται.
 6 Ταῦτά τε οὖν τότε τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ οἰκίαν
 ὥστε ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ οἰκεῖν, ἱερομηνίαν τε
 ἐξαίρετον ὡσάκεις ἂν νίκη τέ τις συμβῇ καὶ θυσίαι
 ἐπ' αὐτῇ γίνωνται, καὶ μήτε συστρατεύσῃται
 μήθ' ὅλως ἐπικοινωνήσῃ³ τῶν καταπραχθέντων,
 45 ἔδοσαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν εἰ καὶ ὑπέρογκα
 ἔξω τε τοῦ καθεστηκότος τισὶν⁴ ἔδόκει εἶναι, οὔτι
 γε καὶ ἀδημοκράτητα ἦν· ἕτερα δὲ δὴ τοιάδε
 ἐψηφίσαντο δι' ὧν καὶ μόναρχον αὐτὸν ἀντικρὺς
 ἀπέδειξαν. τὰς τε γὰρ ἀρχὰς αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς τοῦ
 πλήθους ἀνέθεσαν, καὶ ὑπατον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δέκα
 ἔτη, ὥστε καὶ δικτάτορα πρότερον, προεχειρί-
 2 σαντο· στρατιώτας τε μόνον ἔχειν καὶ τὰ δημόσια
 χρήματα μόνον διοικεῖν ἐκέλευσαν, ὥστε μηδενὶ
 ἄλλῳ μηδετέρῳ αὐτῶν, ὅτῳ μὴ⁵ ἐκεῖνος ἐπι-
 τρέψειεν, ἐξεῖναι χρῆσθαι. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀν-
 δριάντα αὐτοῦ ἐλεφάντινον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἄρμα
 ὅλον ἐν ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις μετὰ τῶν θείων
 3 ἀγαλμάτων πέμπεσθαι ἔγνωσαν. ἄλλην τέ τινα
 εἰκόνα ἐς τὸν τοῦ Κυρίνου⁶ ναὸν Θεῷ ἀνικῆτῳ
 ἐπιγράψαντες, καὶ ἄλλην ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον
 παρὰ τοὺς βασιλεύσαντάς ποτε ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ

¹ ὥσπερ Bk., ὥσπερ ἐν L.² οἱ Dind, οἱς L.³ καὶ μήτε συστρατεύσῃται μήθ' ὅλως ἐπικοινωνήσῃ Naber, καὶ μήτε συστρατεύσῃ τις μήθ' ὅλως ἐπικοινωνήσῃ L.⁴ τισὶν Naber, σφίσιν L.⁵ μὴ Bk., μηδὲ L.⁶ Κυρίνου R. Steph., κυρίνου L.

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this title once, as they do the other titles, and place it before the others; but those of them who also accomplish in war some deed worthy of it acquire also the title handed down by ancient custom, so that a man is termed *imperator* a second or a third time, or as many more times as the occasion may arise. B.C. 45

These privileges they granted then to Caesar, as well as a house, so that he might live in state property, and a special thanksgiving whenever any victory should occur and sacrifices should be offered for it, even if he had not been on the campaign or had any hand at all in the achievements. Nevertheless, these measures, even though they seemed to some immoderate and contrary to precedent, were not thus far undemocratic. But the senate passed the following decrees besides, by which they declared him a monarch out and out. For they offered him the magistracies, even those belonging to the plebs, and elected him consul for ten years, as they previously had made him dictator. They ordered that he alone should have soldiers, and alone administer the public funds, so that no one else should be allowed to employ either of them, save whom he permitted. And they decreed at this time that an ivory statue of him, and later that a whole chariot, should appear in the procession at the games in the Circus, together with the statues of the gods. Another likeness they set up in the temple of Quirinus with the inscription, "To the Invincible God," and another on the Capitol beside the former kings

4 ἀνέθεσαν. καί μοι θαυμάσαι τῆς συντυχίας ἐπέρχεται· ὀκτὼ γὰρ ἅμα αὐτῶν (ἐπτὰ μὲν ἐκείνοις, ὀγδόης¹ δὲ τῷ γε² Βρούτῳ τῷ τοῖς Ταρκυνίους³ καταλύσαντι) οὐσῶν παρὰ ταύτην τότε τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔστησαν, καὶ δῆτα καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὅτι μάλιστα ὁ Βρούτος ὁ Μάρκος κινηθεὶς ἐπεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ.

- 46 Ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τῇ⁴ νίκῃ (λέγω⁵ δὲ οὐ πάντα, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀξιόλογα εἶναί μοι ἔδοξεν) οὐκ ἐν μιᾷ γε ἡμέρᾳ, ἀλλ' ὥς που καὶ ἔτυχεν, ἄλλο ἄλλη ἐκυρώθη· καὶ σφῶν ὁ Καίσαρ τοῖς μὲν χρῆσθαι ἤρξατο τοῖς δὲ ἔμελλεν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τινα
- 2 αὐτῶν παρήκατο. τὴν δ' οὖν ἀρχὴν τὴν ὑπατον⁶ παραχρῆμα μὲν, καὶ πρὶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθεῖν, ἀνέλαβεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ διὰ τέλους ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενόμενος ἀπεῖπέ τε αὐτὴν καὶ τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ Κύντῳ τῷ τε Τρεβωνίῳ τῷ Γαίῳ ἐνεχείρισε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε ὁ Φάβιος τῇ τελευταίᾳ τῆς ὑπατείας ἡμέρᾳ ἀπέθανεν, εὐθὺς αὐτ' αὐτοῦ ἕτερον πρὸς τὰς περιλοίπους ὥρας Γάιον
- 3 Κανίνιον⁷ Ῥήβιον⁸ ἀνθείλετο. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τότε τοῦτο παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐγένετο, τὸ μῆτε ἐτησίαν μῆτε εἰς πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον τοῦ ἔτους τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκείνην τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ ζῶντά τινα αὐτῆς καὶ μὴ ἀναγκασθέντα μῆτε ἐκ τῶν πατρίων⁹ μῆτε ἐξ ἐπηγορίας τινὸς ἐκστήναι,

¹ ὀγδόης Bk., ὀγδόῃ L.

² γε H. Steph., τε L.

³ Ταρκυνίους R. Steph., ταρκυνίους L.

⁴ τῇ supplied by Pfugk.

⁵ λέγω R. Steph., λέγων L.

⁶ ὑπατον R. Steph., ὑπαντον L.

⁷ Κανίνιον R. Steph., κάννιον L. (and so just below).

⁸ Ῥήβιον Wagner, ῥήβιον L.

⁹ τῶν πατρίων Bk., πατρώων L.

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of Rome. Now it occurs to me to marvel at the coincidence: there were eight such statues,—seven to the kings, and an eighth to the Brutus who overthrew the Tarquins,—and they set up the statue of Caesar beside the last of these; and it was from this cause chiefly that the other Brutus, Marcus, was roused to plot against him. B.C. 45

These were the measures that were passed in honour of his victory (I do not mention all, but as many as have seemed to me notable), not in one day, to be sure, but just as it happened, at different times. Caesar began to avail himself of some, and was intending to use others in the future, however emphatically he declined some of them. Thus he took the office of consul immediately, even before entering the city, but did not hold it through the whole year; instead, when he got to Rome he renounced it, turning it over to Quintus Fabius and Gaius Trebonius. When Fabius died on the last day of his consulship, he straightway named another man, Gaius Caninius Rebilus, in his place for the remaining hours. This was the first violation of precedent at this time, that one and the same man did not hold that office for a year or even for all the rest of the same year, but while living withdrew from it without compulsion from either ancestral custom or any accusation, and another took

- 4 καὶ ἕτερον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἀντικαταστήναι. δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι ὁ Κανίνιος ἀπεδείχθη τε ἅμα ὑπάτος καὶ ὑπάτευσε καὶ ἐπαύσατο· ὅπερ καὶ ὁ Κικέρων διασκώπτων τοσαύτη ἔφη τὸν ὑπάτον καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ φροντίδι ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ κεκρήσθαι ὥστε μηδὲ τὸ
- 5 βραχύτατον ἐν αὐτῇ κεκοιμήσθαι. ἐκ δ' οὖν τοῦ χρόνου ἐκείνου οὐκέτι οἱ αὐτοὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἔτους, πλὴν ὀλίγων πάλαι γε, ὑπάτευσαν, ἀλλ' ὥς που καὶ ἔτυχον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πλείους οἱ δὲ ἐπ' ἐλάττους, οἱ μὲν μῆνας οἱ δὲ ἡμέρας, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε οὐδεὶς οὔτε¹ ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν οὔτε ἐς πλείω διμήνου χρόνον
- 6 ὥς πλήθει σὺν ἐτέρῳ τινὶ ἄρχει. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐδὲν διαφέρομεν ἀλλήλων, τὴν δὲ ἐξαρίθμησιν τῶν ἐτῶν οἱ κατὰ πρώτας αὐτῶν ὑπατεύοντες καρποῦνται. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τοὺς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀναγκαίους ὀνομάσω, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν τῶν αἰὶ πραττομένων δήλωσιν τοὺς πρώτους ἄρξαντας,² καὶ μηδὲν ἔργον ἐς αὐτὰ παράσχωνται.
- 47 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοὺς ὑπάτους ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐγένετο· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες λόγῳ μὲν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια (τὴν γὰρ ἀπόδειξιν αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐδέξατο), ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κατέστησαν, καὶ ἔς γε τὰ
- 2 ἔθνη ἀκληρωτὶ ἐξεπέμφθησαν. ἀριθμὸν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ὅσοι περ καὶ πρότερον, στρατηγοὶ δὲ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ταμίαι τε τεσσαράκοντα ἀπεδείχθησαν. πολλοὺς γὰρ δὴ πολλὰ ὑπεσχημένος

¹ οὔτε Bk., οὐδε L.² ἄρξαντας Xyl., πρῶξαντας L.

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his place. Again, there was the fact that Caninius was appointed consul, served, and ceased to serve all at the same time. Hence Cicero jestingly remarked that the consul had displayed such great bravery and prudence in office as never to fall asleep in it for the briefest moment. So after that period the same persons no longer (except a few in the beginning) acted as consuls through the whole year, but according to circumstances, some for a longer time, some for a shorter, some for months, others for days; indeed, at the present time no one serves with any one else, as a rule, for a whole year or for a longer period than two months. In general we consuls to-day do not differ from one another, but the naming of the years is the privilege of those who are consuls at the beginning. Accordingly, in the case of the other consuls I shall name only those who were closely connected with the events mentioned, but in order to secure perfect clearness with regard to the succession of events, I shall mention also those who first held office in each year, even if they make no contribution to its events.

While the consuls were appointed in this manner, the remaining magistrates were nominally elected by the plebs and by the whole people, in accordance with ancestral custom, since Caesar would not accept the appointment of them; yet really they were appointed by him, and were sent out to the provinces without casting lots. As for their number, all were the same as before, except that fourteen praetors and forty quaestors were appointed. For, since he had made many promises to many people,

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he had no other way to reward them, and hence took this method. Furthermore, he enrolled a vast number in the senate, making no distinction whether a man was a soldier or the son of a freedman, so that the sum of them grew to nine hundred; and he enrolled many also among the patricians and among the ex-consuls and such as had held some other office. He released some who were on trial for bribery and were being proved guilty, so that he was charged with bribe-taking himself. This report was strengthened by the fact that he also put up at auction all the public lands, not only the profane, but also the consecrated lots, and sold most of them. Nevertheless, he granted ample gifts to some persons in the form of money or the sale of lands; and in the case of a certain Lucius Basilus, who was praetor, instead of assigning him a province he bestowed a large amount of money upon him, so that Basilus became notorious both on this account as well as because, when insulted during his praetorship by Caesar, he had held out against him. All this suited those citizens who were receiving or even expecting to receive something, since they had no regard for the public weal in comparison with the chance of the moment for their own advancement by such means. But all the rest took it greatly to heart and had much to say about it to each other and also—as many as felt safe in so doing—in outspoken utterances and the publication of anonymous pamphlets

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- 48 Ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἐκείνᾳ τε ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς διωκῆσεως δύο τῶν πολιανομούντων, ἐπειδὴ ταμίας οὐδεὶς προεκεχειροτόνητο, ἐγένοντο. ὥσπερ γάρ ποτε πρότερον, καὶ τότε ἐν τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος οἱ πολιανόμοι πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει πράγματα μετὰ τοῦ Λεπίδου
- 2 ἱππαρχοῦντος ἔσχον· καὶ αἰτιαθέντες γε ὅτι καὶ ῥαβδούχοις καὶ τῇ ἐσθήτῃ τῷ τε δίφρῳ τοῖς ἀρχικοῖς, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ἱππαρχος, ἐκέχρητο,¹ ἀφείθησαν, νόμον τινὰ προβαλλόμενοι δι' οὗ πᾶσι τοῖς παρὰ δικτάτορος ἀρχὴν τινα λαβοῦσι
- 3 χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐδίδοτο. τὸ δ' οὖν κατὰ τὴν διοίκησιν, ἐξ ἐκείνου δι' ἃπερ εἶπον παρατραπέν, οὐκέτι τοῖς ταμίαις ἀεὶ ἐπετράπη, ἀλλὰ τὸ τελευταῖον τοῖς ἐστρατηγηκόσι προσετάχθη. τοὺς τε οὖν θησαυροὺς τοὺς δημοσίους δύο τότε τῶν πολιανομούντων διώκῃσαν, καὶ τὰ Ἀπολλώνια ὁ ἕτερος αὐτῶν τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος παρασκευῇ
- 4 ἐπετέλεσε. καὶ οἱ ἀγορανόμοι οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τὰ Μεγαλήσια κατὰ δόγμα ἐποίησαν. πολί-
 αρχός τέ τις ἐν ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς καταστάς ἕτερον αὐτὸς τῆς ὑστεραίας ἀνθείλετο, καὶ ἐκείνος ἄλλον·
 δ μήτε πρότερον μήθ' ὕστερόν ποτε ἐγένετο.
- 49 Ταῦτα μὲν τότε ἐπράχθη· τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐδικτατόρευσέ τε ἅμα τὸ πέμπτον, ἱππαρχον τὸν Λέπιδον προσλαβών, καὶ ὑπάτευσσε τὸ πέμπτον, συνάρχοντα τὸν Ἀντώνιον προσελόμενος, στρατηγοί τε ἑκατάδεκα ἤρξαν (καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη . . .²), καὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐν μέσῳ πον πρότερον τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὃν ἐς τὸν νῦν τόπον

¹ ἐκέχρητο R. Steph., ἐκέχρητο L.

² Some word like ἐγένετο, ἐγένετο, or συνέβη has fallen out.

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In addition to these measures carried out that year, two of the city prefects took charge of the finances, since no quaestor had been elected. For just as on former occasions, so now in the absence of Caesar, the prefects managed all the affairs of the city, in conjunction with Lepidus as master of the horse. And although they were censured for employing lictors and the magisterial garb and chair precisely like the master of the horse, they got off by citing a certain law which allowed all those receiving any office from a dictator to make use of such trappings. The administration of the finances, after being diverted at this time for the reasons I have mentioned, was no longer invariably assigned to the quaestors, but was finally assigned to ex-praetors. Two of the city prefects then managed the public treasuries, and one of them celebrated the Ludi Apollinares at Caesar's cost. The plebeian aediles conducted the Ludi Megalenses in accordance with a decree. A certain prefect, appointed during the Ferae, himself chose a successor on the following day, and the latter a third; this had never happened before, nor did it happen again.

These were the events at this time. The next year, during which Caesar was at once dictator for the fifth time, with Lepidus as master of the horse, and consul for the fifth time, choosing Antony as his colleague, sixteen praetors were in power,—a custom, indeed, that was continued for many years,—and the rostra, which was formerly in the centre of the Forum, was moved back to its present

- ἀνεχωρίσθη, καὶ αὐτῷ ἢ τοῦ Σύλλου τοῦ τε
- 2 Πομπηίου εἰκὼν ἀπεδόθη. καὶ ἐπὶ τε¹ τούτῳ εὐκλειαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔσχευ, καὶ ὅτι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ τῆς δόξης τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπιγραφῆς παρεχώρησε. θέατρον τέ τι κατὰ τὸν Πομπηίου οἰκοδομήσαι ἐβελήσας προκατεβάλετο² μέν, οὐκ ἐξετέλεσε δέ. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὁ Αὐγουστος μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκποιήσας ἀπὸ Μάρκου
- 3 Μαρκέλλου τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ³ ἐπωνόμασε· τὰς δὲ οἰκίας τοὺς τε ναοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐκείνῳ ὄντας ὁ Καῖσαρ καθελὼν αἰτίαν ἔλαβεν, ὅτι τε τὰ ἀγάλματα, ξύλινα πλὴν ὀλίγων ὄντα, κατέκαυσε, καὶ θησαυροὺς χρημάτων συχνοὺς εὐρῶν πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐσφετερίσατο.
- 50 Ταῦτά τε ἐποίει καὶ νόμους ἐσέφερε τό τε πωμήριον ἐπὶ πλείον ἐπεξήγαγε. καὶ ἐν μὲν τούτοις ἄλλοις τέ τισιν ὅμοια τῷ Σύλλα πρᾶξαι ἔδοξεν· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τοῖς τε περιλειφθεῖσι τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων οἱ τὰς τε αἰτίας ἀφεῖναι καὶ
- 2 ἄδειαν ἐπὶ τε τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμοίᾳ δοῦναι, καὶ ἐκείνων τε τὰς ἀρχὰς προαγαγεῖν καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων τὰς προῖκας ἀποδοῦναι, τοῖς τε παισὶν αὐτῶν μέρη τῶν οὐσιῶν χαρίσασθαι, τήν τε τοῦ Σύλλου μισοφονίαν μεγάλως ἤλεγξε, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ χρηστότητι ἰσχυρῶς εὐδοκίμησεν, καίτοι χαλεπὸν ὄν ὥς πλήθει τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ
- 3 διαπρέψαι. τούτοις τε οὖν ἐσεμνύνετο, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα τήν τε Κόρινθον ἀνέστησεν.

¹ τε supplied by Bk.

² προκατεβάλετο Leuncl., προκατελάβετο L.

³ ἀδελφιδοῦ R. Steph., ἀδελφιδούς L.

position; also the statues of Sulla and of Pompey were restored to it. For this Caesar received praise, and also because he yielded to Antony both the glory of the work and the inscription on it. Being anxious to build a theatre, as Pompey had done, he laid the foundations, but did not finish it; it was Augustus who later completed it and named it for his nephew, Marcus Marcellus. But Caesar was blamed for tearing down the dwellings and temples on the site, and likewise because he burned up the statues, which were almost all of wood, and because on finding large hoards of money he appropriated them all.

Besides this, he introduced laws and extended the pomerium; in these and other matters his course was thought to resemble that of Sulla. Caesar, however, removed the ban from the survivors of those who had warred against him, granting them immunity on fair and uniform terms; he promoted them to office; to the wives of the slain he restored their dowries, and to their children he granted a share of the property, thus putting Sulla's cruelty mightily to shame and gaining for himself a great reputation not alone for bravery but also for goodness, although it is generally a difficult thing for the same man to excel both in war and in peace. This was a source of pride to him, as was also the fact that he had restored again Carthage and Corinth.

πολλὰς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλας ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ
 4 ἐξω πόλεις τὰς μὲν ἀνφοκοδόμησε, τὰς δὲ καὶ
 ἄλλοις τισὶν ἐπέπρακτο, τὴν δὲ δὴ Κόρινθον
 τὴν τε Καρχηδόνα, πόλεις ἀρχαίας λαμπρὰς ἐπι-
 σήμους ἀπολωλύας, ἥ¹ μὲν ἀποικίας Ῥωμαίων
 ἐνόμισεν, ἀπόκισεν, ἥ¹ δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ὀνόμασιν
 5 ἐτίμησεν, ἀπέδωκεν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν ἐνοικησάντων
 ποτὲ αὐτάς, μηδὲν διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἔχθραν τοῖς
 χωρίοις τοῖς μηδὲν σφας ἀδίκησαςι μνησικακή-
 σας.

Καὶ αἱ μὲν, ὥσπερ ἅμα πρότερον καθηρέθησαν,
 οὕτω καὶ τότε ἅμα ἀνεβιώσκοντο καὶ ἔμελλον καὶ
 51 αὖθις ἀνθήσειν· πρᾶττοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐπι-
 θυμία τε πᾶσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὁμοίως ἐσήλθε
 τιμωρῆσαι τῷ τε Κράσσῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ
 φθαρεῖσι, καὶ ἐλπὶς τότε, εἴπερ ποτέ, τοὺς Πάρ-
 θους καταστρέψεσθαι.² τὸν τε οὖν πόλεμον τῷ
 Καίσαρι ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὴν παρα-
 2 σκευὴν³ αὐτοῦ πολλὴν ἐποιοῦντο. τὰ τε γὰρ
 ἄλλα, καὶ ὅπως ἐκεῖνός τε πλείοσιν ὑπηρέταις
 χρῆσθαι ἔχῃ, καὶ ἡ⁴ πόλις μὴτ' ἀνευ ἀρχόντων ἐν
 τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ γένηται μὴτ' αὖ καθ' ἑαυτὴν
 αἰρουμένη⁵ τινὰς στασιάσῃ, διανοοῦντο μὲν καὶ ἐς
 τρία ἔτη αὐτοὺς προκαταστήσαι (τοσοῦτου γὰρ
 χρόνου πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν χρήζειν ἐδόκουν) οὐ
 3 μέντοι καὶ πάντας προαπέδειξαν. ἥρειτο δὲ τῷ
 μὲν λόγῳ⁶ τοὺς ἡμίσεις ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐν νόμῳ τινὶ

¹ ἥ R. Steph., ἡ L.

² καταστρέψεσθαι Bs., καταστρέψασθαι L.

³ παρασκευὴν Rk., κατασκευὴν L.

⁴ ἡ Rk., ἡ τε L.

⁵ αἰρουμένη R. Steph., αἰρουμένης L.

⁶ δὲ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ Bs., μὲν τῷ λόγῳ L.

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To be sure, there were many other cities in and outside of Italy which he had either rebuilt or founded anew; still, other men had done as much. But in the case of Corinth and Carthage, those ancient, brilliant, and distinguished cities which had been laid in ruins, he not only colonized them, in that he regarded them as colonies of the Romans, but also restored them in memory of their former inhabitants, in that he honoured them with their ancient names; for he bore no grudge, on account of the hostility of those peoples, towards places that had never harmed the Romans. B.C. 44

So these cities, even as they had once been demolished together, now began to revive together and bade fair to flourish once more. But while Caesar was thus engaged, a longing came over all the Romans alike to avenge Crassus and those who had perished with him, and they felt some hope of subjugating the Parthians then, if ever. They unanimously voted the command of the war to Caesar, and made ample provision for it. Among other details, they decided that he should have a generous number of assistants, and also, in order that the city should neither be without officials in his absence nor, again, by attempting to choose some on its own responsibility, fall into strife, that the magistrates should be appointed in advance for three years, this being the length of time they thought necessary for the campaign. Nevertheless, they did not designate them all beforehand. Nominally Caesar chose half of them, having a certain legal right to do this, but in reality

τοῦτο ποιησάμενος, ἔργῳ δὲ πάντας. καὶ ἐς μὲν
 τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος ταμίαι τεσσαράκοντα προεχειρί-
 σθησαν ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ ἀγορανόμοι τότε
 πρῶτον δύο μὲν καὶ ἑξὺς εὐπατριδῶν, τέσσαρες δὲ
 ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, ὧν οἱ δύο τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Δήμητρος
 ἐπὶ κλησιν φέρουσιν, ὅπερ που καὶ ἐς τότε ἑξὺς ἐκεί-
 4 νου καταδειχθὲν ἐμμεμένηκε. στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἀπε-
 δείχθησαν μὲν ἑκαταίδεκα· ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτο γράφω
 (καὶ γὰρ πρόσθεν ἐγεγόνεσαν) ἀλλ' ὅτι¹ καὶ ὁ
 Πούπλιος ὁ Οὐεντίδιος² ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡρέθη. οὗτος
 γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἐκ τοῦ Πικήνου, ὥσπερ εἴρη-
 ται μοι, ἦν, ἀντιπολεμήσας δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὅτε
 5 οἱ σύμμαχοί σφισιν ἐπολεμώθησαν, ἤλω τε ὑπὸ
 τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ Στράβωνος καὶ ἐν τοῖς νικη-
 τηρίοις αὐτοῦ δεδεμένος ἐπόμπευσε, καὶ μετὰ
 τοῦτο ἀφεθεὶς ἔς τε τὸ συνεδριον χρόνῳ ὕστερον
 ἐνεγράφη καὶ στρατηγὸς τότε ὑπὸ³ τοῦ Καίσαρος
 ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτόν γε προὐὼν ἐπηυξήθη
 ὥστε καὶ τοὺς Πάρθους νικῆσαι καὶ ἐπινίκια αὐτῶν
 6 πέμψαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν τῷ πρώτῳ μετ' ἐκεῖνο ἔτει ἄρξ-
 οντες πάντες προκατέστησαν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὸ δεύτερον
 οἳ τε ὑπατοὶ καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι μόνοι· τοσοῦτον
 7 ἐδέησε καὶ ἐς τὸ τρίτον τινα ἀποδειχθῆναι. καὶ
 ἔμελλε καὶ αὐτὸς δικτάτωρ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς
 ἄρξειν, τοὺς τε ἱππαρχήσοντας⁴ ἄλλον τέ τινα
 καὶ τὸν Ὀκτάουιον, καίπερ μεираκίον ἔτι καὶ τότε
 8 ὄντα, προεχειρίσατο. ἔς τε τὸ παρόν, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτ'
 ἐγίγνετο, ὑπατόν τε ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν
 ἀντικατέστησε,⁵ καίτοι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πάντα τὸν

¹ ἀλλ' ὅτι Bk., ἀλλ' ὅτι ἄλλοι τε Rk., ἄλλοι τε L.

² Οὐεντίδιος R. Steph., οὐεντίλιος L. ³ ὑπὸ Rk., ἐπὶ L.

⁴ τοὺς τε ἱππαρχήσοντας Leuncl., τοὺς τε ἱππαρχήσαντος L.

⁵ ἀντικατέστησε R. Steph., ἀντεκατέστησε L.

he chose the whole number. For the first year, as previously, forty quaestors were elected, and now for the first time two patrician aediles as well as four from the plebs. Of the latter two have their title from Ceres,¹ a custom which, then introduced, has remained to the present day. And praetors were appointed to the number of sixteen; it is not of this, however, that I would write, since there had formerly been just as many, but of the fact that among those chosen was Publius Ventidius. He was originally from Picenum, as has been remarked, and fought against Rome when her allies were at war with her. He was captured by Pompeius Strabo,² and marched in chains in that general's triumph. Later he was released and subsequently was enrolled in the senate, and now was appointed praetor by Caesar; and he went on advancing until he finally conquered the Parthians and held a triumph over them. All were thus appointed in advance who were to hold office the first year after that, but for the second year only the consuls and tribunes; so far were they from appointing anybody for the third year. Caesar himself intended to be dictator both years, and designated as masters of horse another man and Octavius, though the latter was at that time a mere lad. For the time being, while this was going on, Caesar appointed Dolabella consul in his own stead, leaving Antony to finish out his

¹ The *Aediles Cercales*.

² The father of Pompey the Great.

ἐνιαυτὸν μέλλοντος ἄρξειν· καὶ τῷ Λεπίδῳ τὴν τε
 Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν
 τὴν πλησιόχωρον προστάξας, δύο ἀντ' αὐτοῦ¹
 ἐτέρους, ἰδίᾳ γε ἑκάτερον, ἱππαρχῆσαι ἐποίησε.
 9 πολλοῖς γὰρ εὐεργεσίας² ὀφείλων διὰ τε τῶν
 τοιούτων αὐτὰς καὶ διὰ τῶν ἱερωσυνῶν ἀπεδίδου,
 ἕς τε τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα ἕνα καὶ ἕς τοὺς ἑπτὰ αὐ
 καλουμένους τρεῖς ἐτέρους προσαποδείξας.

¹ αὐτοῦ St., αὐτῶν L. ² εὐεργεσίας Leuncl., εὐεργεσίαν L.

BOOK XLIII

year in office. To Lepidus he assigned Gallia Narbonensis and Hither Spain, and appointed two men masters of horse in his place, each to act separately. For owing favours, as he did, to many persons, he repaid them by such appointments as these and by priesthoods, adding one man to the Quindecimviri, and three others to the Septemviri, as they were called. B C 44

BOOK XLIV

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Δίωνος
Ῥωμαϊκῶν

- α. Περὶ τῶν τῷ Καίσαρι ψηφισθέντων.
- β. Περὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν συστάσης.
- γ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐσφάγη.
- δ. Ὡς δόγμα ἐγένετο μὴ μνησικακεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις.
- ε. Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ταφῆς καὶ τοῦ λεχθέντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγου.

Χρόνου πλῆθος μέρος τι ¹ τῆς Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος δικτατορίας τὸ ἐ'
μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου ἱπάρχου καὶ ὑπατείας τὸ ἐ' μετὰ Μάρκου
Ἀντωνίου

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Καῖσαρ ταῦθ' οὕτως ὥς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς
Πάρθους στρατεύσων ἔπραξεν, οἷστρος δέ τισιν
ἀλιτηριώδης φθόνῳ τε τοῦ προήκοντος ² καὶ μίσει
τοῦ προτετιμημένου σφῶν προσπεσὼν ἐκείνους
τε ἀνόμως ἀπέκτεινε, καὶνὸν ἀνοσίῳ δόξης ὄνομα
προσλαβὼν, καὶ τὰ ψηφισθέντα διεσκέδασε,
² στάσεις τε αὐθις ἐξ ὁμονοίας καὶ πολέμους
ἐμφυλίου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παρεσκεύασεν· ἔλεγον
μὲν γὰρ καθαιρέται τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἐλευ-
θερωταὶ τοῦ δήμου γεγονέναι, τὸ δὲ ἀληθές ἐκείνῳ
τε ἀσεβῶς ἐπεβούλευσαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀρθῶς

¹ μέρος τι Bs., μέχρι L.

² προήκοντος Leuncl.. προσήκοντος L.

BOOK XLIV

The following is contained in the Forty-fourth of Dio's *Rome* :—

- About the decrees passed in honour of Caesar (chaps. 1–11).
- About the conspiracy formed against him (chaps. 12–18).
- How Caesar was murdered (chaps. 19–22).
- How a decree was passed that the people should not bear malice against one another (chaps. 23–34).
- About the burial of Caesar and the oration delivered over him (chaps. 35–53)

B.C

- 44 Duration of time, a part of the fifth dictatorship of Julius Caesar, held in company with Aemilius Lepidus as master of the horse, and of his fifth consulship, held with Mark Antony.

ALL this Caesar did as a preliminary step to his campaign against the Parthians; but a baleful frenzy which fell upon certain men through jealousy of his advancement and hatred of his preferment to themselves caused his death unlawfully, while it added a new name to the annals of infamy; it scattered the decrees to the winds and brought upon the Romans seditions and civil wars once more after a state of harmony. His slayers, to be sure, declared that they had shown themselves at once destroyers of Caesar and liberators of the people. but in reality they impiously plotted against him, and they threw the city into disorder when at last it

- 2 ἤδη πολιτευομένην ἐστασίασαν. δημοκρατία γὰρ ὄνομα μὲν εὐσχημον ἔχει καὶ τινα καὶ ἰσομοιρίαν πᾶσιν ἐκ τῆς ἰσονομίας φέρειν δοκεῖ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐλέγχεται μηδὲν ὁμολογοῦσα τῷ προσρήματι· καὶ τοῦναντίον ἡ μοναρχία δυσχερές μὲν ἀκούσαι, χρησιμώτατον δὲ ἐμπολιτεύεσθαι ἐστί. ῥᾶόν τε γὰρ ἓνα τινὰ χρηστὸν ἢ πολλοὺς
- 2 εὐρεῖν· ἂν τε¹ καὶ τοῦτο χαλεπὸν τισιν εἶναι δοκῇ, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη² ἐκεῖνό γε ἀδύνατον ὁμολογηθῆναι εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ προσήκει τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρετὴν κτᾶσθαι. εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ φαῦλός τις αὐταρχήσειεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε³ πλήθους τῶν ὁμοίων αἰρετώτερός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ που καὶ τὰ ἔργα τὰ τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων, τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν,
- 3 τεκμηριοῖ. τὰ τε γὰρ ἀμείνω πολὺ μείζω καὶ πλείω καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιώταις ἐκ βασιλέων ἢ δήμων αἰεὶ ποτε ἐγένετο, καὶ τὰ δυσχερέστερα ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἢ ταῖς ὀχλοκρατίαις συμβαίνει.⁴ εἰ γάρ που καὶ δημοκρατία τις ἦνθησεν, ἀλλ' ἐν γε βραχεὶ χρόνῳ ἤκμασεν, μέχρις οὐ μήτε μέγεθος μήτ' ἰσχὺν ἔσχον ὥστε ἢ ὕβρεις σφίσιν ἐξ εὐπραγίας ἢ φθόνους ἐκ φιλοτιμίας ἐγγενέσθαι
- 4 πόλιν δὲ⁵ αὐτὴν τε τηλικαύτην οὖσαν καὶ τοῦ τε καλλίστου τοῦ τε πλείστου τῆς ἐμφανοῦς οἰκουμένης ἄρχουσαν, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἦθη καὶ διάφορα κεκτημένην πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μεγάλους πλούτους ἔχουσιν, ταῖς τε πράξεσι καὶ ταῖς

¹ τε Bk., γε L.² πᾶσα ἀνάγκη R. Steph., πάσῃ ἀνάγκῃ L.³ γε H. Steph., τε L.⁴ One or more words with the meaning "fewer" or "more rarely" have evidently been lost from the text.⁵ δὲ Rk., τε L.

BOOK XLIV

possessed a stable government. Democracy, indeed, B C 14 has a fair-appearing name and conveys the impression of bringing equal rights to all through equal laws, but its results are seen not to agree at all with its title. Monarchy, on the contrary, has an unpleasant sound, but is a most practical form of government to live under. For it is easier to find a single excellent man than many of them, and if even this seems to some a difficult feat, it is quite inevitable that the other alternative should be acknowledged to be impossible; for it does not belong to the majority of men to acquire virtue. And again, even though a base man should obtain supreme power, yet he is preferable to the masses of like character, as the history of the Greeks and barbarians and of the Romans themselves proves. For successes have always been greater and more frequent in the case both of cities and of individuals under kings than under popular rule, and disasters do [not] happen [so frequently] under monarchies as under mob-rule. Indeed, if ever there has been a prosperous democracy, it has in any case been at its best for only a brief period, so long, that is, as the people had neither the numbers nor the strength sufficient to cause insolence to spring up among them as the result of good fortune or jealousy as the result of ambition. But for a city, not only so large in itself, but also ruling the finest and the greatest part of the known world, holding sway over men of many and diverse natures, possessing many men of great wealth, occupied with every imaginable pursuit, enjoying every imaginable fortune, both

- τύχαις παντοδαπαῖς καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ χρω-
 μένην, ἀδύνατον μὲν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ σωφρονήσαι,
 ἀδυνατώτερον δὲ μὴ σωφρονούσαν ὁμονοήσαι.
- 5 ὥστ' εἴπερ ταῦτα οὕτως ὃ τε Βρούτος ὁ Μάρκος
 καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος ὁ Γάιος ἐξελογίσαντο, οὐκ ἂν ποτε
 τὸν τε προστάτην καὶ τὸν κηδεμόνα αὐτῆς ἀπέ-
 κτειναν, οὐδ' ἂν μυρίων αἵτιοι κακῶν καὶ ἑαυτοῖς
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις ἐγένοντο.
- 3 Ἔσχε δὲ ὧδε, καὶ αἰτίαν τήνδε ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ
 ἔλαβεν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀναίτιον πάντῃ τὸ ἐπί-
 φθονον ἐκτέησατο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον αὐτοὶ οἱ
 βουλευταὶ ταῖς τε καινότησι καὶ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς
 τῶν τιμῶν ἐξάραντές τε αὐτὸν καὶ φυσησαντες
 ἔπειτα ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἐκείναις καὶ ἐμέμφοντο καὶ
 διέβαλλον ὡς ἡδέως τέ σφας λαμβάνοντα καὶ
- 2 ὀγκηρότερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ζῶντα. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὅτε
 καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἤμαρτε, δεξάμενός τέ τινα τῶν
 ψηφισθέντων οἱ καὶ πιστεύσας ὄντως αὐτῶν
 ἀξιούσθαι, πλείστον δὲ ὅμως ἐκείνοι, οἵτινες
 ἀρξάμενοι τιμᾶν αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ ἄξιον, προήγαγον
- 3 ἐς αἰτίαν οἷς ἐψηφίζοντο. οὔτε¹ γὰρ διωθεῖσθαι
 πάντα αὐτὰ ἐτόλμα, μὴ καὶ ὑπερφρονεῖν νο-
 μισθεῖν, οὔτ' αὖ λαμβάνων ἀσφαλῆς εἶναι
 ἐδύνατο.² τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλον τῶν τε τιμῶν καὶ
 τῶν ἐπαίνων χαυνοτέρους πως καὶ τοὺς πάνυ σώ-
 φρονας, ἄλλως τε³ καὶ ἀληθῶς γίγνεσθαι δοκῶσι,
 ποιεῖ.
- 4 Ἐγένετο δὲ τὰ δοθέντα αὐτῷ μετ' ἐκείνα ὅσα
 εἴρηται τοσάδε καὶ τοιάδε· καθ' ἐν γάρ, εἰ καὶ
 μὴ πάντα ἅμα μήτε ἐσηνέχθη μήτε ἐκυρώθη,

¹ οὔτε Bk., οὐ L. ² ἐδύνατο St., ἡδύνατο L.

³ ἄλλως τε Rk., ὥστε L.

BOOK XLIV

individually and collectively,—for such a city, I say, B.C. 44
to practise moderation under a democracy is impossible, and still more is it impossible for the people, unless moderation prevails, to be harmonious. Therefore, if Marcus Brutus and Gaius Cassius had only reflected upon these things, they would never have killed the city's head and protector nor have made themselves the cause of countless ills both to themselves and to all the rest of mankind then living.

It happened as follows, and his death was due to the cause now to be given. He had aroused dislike that was not altogether unjustified, except in so far as it was the senators themselves who had by their novel and excessive honours encouraged him and puffed him up, only to find fault with him on this very account and to spread slanderous reports how glad he was to accept them and how he behaved more haughtily as a result of them. It is true that Cæsar did now and then err by accepting some of the honours voted him and believing that he really deserved them; yet those were most blameworthy who, after beginning to honour him as he deserved, led him on and brought blame upon him for the measures they had passed. He neither dared, of course, to thrust them all aside, for fear of being thought contemptuous, nor, again, could he be safe in accepting them; for excessive honour and praise render even the most modest men conceited, especially if they seem to be bestowed with sincerity.

The privileges that were granted him, in addition to all those mentioned, were as follows in number and nature; for I shall name them all together, even if they were not all proposed or passed at one

- 2 λελέξεται. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι τε αὐτὸν
 αἰεὶ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τὴν στολὴν τὴν ἐπι-
 νίκιον ἐνδεδυκότα, καὶ καθέζεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ
 δίφρου πανταχῇ πλὴν ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν,
 ἐψηφίσαντο· τότε γὰρ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ δημαρχικοῦ
 βάθρου καὶ μετὰ τῶν αἰεὶ δημαρχούντων θεᾶσθαι¹
 3 ἔλαβε. σκῦλά τέ τινα ὁπίμα ἐς τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
 Φερετρίου νεὼν ἀναθεῖναι οἱ ὥσπερ τινὰ πολέμιον
 αὐτοστράτηγον αὐτοχειρίᾳ πεφονευκότι,² καὶ τοῖς
 ῥαβδούχοις δαφνηφοροῦσιν αἰεὶ χρῆσθαι, μετὰ τε
 τὰς ἀνοχὰς τὰς Λατίνας ἐπὶ κέλῃτος³ ἐς τὴν πόλιν
 4 ἐκ τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ ἐσελεύειν ἔδοσαν. πρὸς τε τού-
 τοις τοιούτοις οὔσι πατέρα τε αὐτὸν τῆς πατρίδος
 ἐπωνόμασαν καὶ ἐς τὰ νομίσματα ἐνεχάραξαν, τὰ
 τε γενέθλια αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ θύειν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ
 ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τοῖς τε ναοῖς τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ
 5 πᾶσιν ἀνδριάντα τινὰ αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἐκέλευσαν, καὶ
 ἐπὶ γε τοῦ βήματος δύο, τὸν μὲν ὡς τοὺς πολίτας
 σεσωκότος τὸν δὲ ὡς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ πολιορκίας
 ἐξηρημένον, μετὰ τῶν στεφάνων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς
 τοιούτοις νενομισμένων ἰδρύσαντο. νεῶν τε
 Ὀμονοίας καὶ νῆς, ὡς καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ⁴ εἰρηνόυντες,
 οἰκοδομῆσαι, καὶ πανήγυριν αὐτῇ⁵ ἐτησίαν ἄγειν
 5 ἔγνωσαν. ὡς δὲ⁶ ταῦτα ἐδέξατο, τὰ τε ἔλη οἱ τὰ
 Πομπτῖνα⁷ χῶσαι καὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὸν τῆς Πελο-
 ποννήσου διορύξαι βουλευτήριόν τέ τι καινὸν
 ποιῆσαι προσέταξαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ Ὀστίλιον καίπερ
 2 ἀνοικοδομηθὲν καθηρέθη, πρόφασιν μὲν τοῦ ναὸν

¹ θεᾶσθαι Rk., θεᾶσασθαι L.² πεφονευκότι Bk., ποῖ πεφονευκότι L³ κέλῃτος Reim., κέλῃτα L.⁴ αὐτοῦ R. Steph., αὐτῶν L.⁵ αὐτῇ Leuncl., αὐτὴν L.⁶ ὡς δὲ Bk., ὥστε L.⁷ Πομπτῖνα R. Steph., πομπινα L.

BOOK XLIV

time. First, then, they voted that he should always B.C. 44
ride, even in the city itself, wearing the triumphal
dress, and should sit in his chair of state every-
where except at the games ; for at those he re-
ceived the privilege of watching the contests from
the tribunes' benches in company with those who
were tribunes at the time. And they gave him
the right to offer *spolia opima*, as they are
called, at the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, as if he
had slain some hostile general with his own hand,
and to have lictors who always carried laurel, and
after the *Fœnæ Latinae* to ride from the Alban
Mount into the city on horseback. In addition to
these remarkable privileges they named him father
of his country, stamped this title on the coinage,
voted to celebrate his birthday by public sacrifice,
ordered that he should have a statue in the cities
and in all the temples of Rome, and they set up two
also on the rostra, one representing him as the
saviour of the citizens and the other as the deliverer
of the city from siege, and wearing the crowns
customary for such achievements. They also re-
solved to build a temple of Concordia Nova, on the
ground that it was through his efforts that they en-
joyed peace, and to celebrate an annual festival in her
honour. When he had accepted these, they assigned
to him the charge of filling the Pontine marshes,
cutting a canal through the Peloponnesian isthmus,
and constructing a new senate-house, since that of
Hostilius, although repaired, had been demolished.
The reason assigned for its destruction was that a

- Εὐτυχίας ἐνταῦθ' οἰκοδομηθῆναι, ὃν καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος
 ἱππαρχήσας ἐξεποίησεν, ἔργῳ δὲ ὅπως μήτε ἐν
 ἐκείνῳ τὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ὄνομα σώζοιτο καὶ ἕτερον
 ἐκ καινῆς κατασκευασθὲν Ἰούλιον ὀνομασθεῖν,
 ὥσπερ πού καὶ τὸν τε μῆνα ἐν ᾧ ἐγεγέννητο¹
 Ἰούλιον καὶ τῶν φυλῶν μίαν τὴν κλήρῳ λα-
 3 χούσαν Ἰουλίαν ἐπεκάλεσαν. καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν
 τιμητὴν καὶ μόνον καὶ διὰ βίου εἶναι, τά τε τοῖς
 δημάρχοις δεδομένα καρποῦσθαι, ὅπως, ἂν τις ἢ
 ἔργῳ ἢ καὶ λόγῳ αὐτὸν ὑβρίσῃ,² ἱερός τε ἢ³ καὶ
 ἐν τῷ ἄγῳ ἐνέχῃται, τὸν δὲ δὴ υἱόν, ἂν τινα
 γεννήσῃ ἢ καὶ ἐσποιήσῃται,⁴ ἀρχιερέα ἀποδειχ-
 6 θῆναι ἐψηφίσαντο. ὥς δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἔχαιρε,
 δίφρος τέ οἱ ἐπίχρυσος, καὶ στολὴ ἢ ποτε οἱ
 βασιλῆς ἐκέχρηντο, φρουρά τε ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐδόθη· καὶ προσέτι καὶ
 εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον,
 τὴν τε τύχην αὐτοῦ ὁμνύειν, καὶ τὰ πραχ-
 θησόμενα αὐτῷ πάντα κύρια ἔξιν ἐνόμισαν.
 2 καὶ τούτου καὶ πενταετηρίδα οἱ ὥς ἦρωι, ἱερο-
 ποιούς τε ἐς τὰς τοῦ Πανὸς γυμνοπαιδίας, τρίτην
 τινὰ ἑταιρίαν ἦν Ἰουλίαν ὠνόμασαν,⁵ κἂν ταῖς
 ὀπλομαχίαις μίαν τινὰ αἰὲς ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ
 3 καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ ἀνέθεσαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ
 τούτοις ἡρέσκετο, οὕτω δὲ ἔς τε τὰ θέατρα τὸν τε
 δίφρον αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπίχρυσον καὶ τὸν στέφανον τὸν
 διάλιθον καὶ διάχρυσον, ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς τῶν θεῶν,
 ἐσκομίζεσθαι κἂν ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις ὁχόν⁶ ἐσάγεσ-

¹ ἐγεγέννητο R. Steph., ἐγεγέννητο L.² ὑβρίσῃ R. Steph., ὑβρίσαι L. ³ ἢ Reim., ἢ L.⁴ ἐσποιήσῃται Reim., ἐκποιήσῃται L.⁵ ὠνόμασαν R. Steph., ὀνομάσαντες L.⁶ ὁχὸν Cassaub., ὅχλον L.

temple of Felicitas was to be built there, which B.C. 44
 Lepidus, indeed, brought to completion while master of the horse; but their real purpose was that the name of Sulla should not be preserved on it, and that another senate-house, newly constructed, might be named the Julian, even as they had called the month in which he was born July, and one of the tribes, selected by lot, the Julian. And they voted that Caesar should be sole censor for life and should enjoy the immunities granted to the tribunes, so that if any one insulted him by deed or word, that man should be an outlaw and accursed, and further that Caesar's son, should he beget or even adopt one, should be appointed high priest. As he seemed to like all this, a gilded chair was granted him, and a garb that the kings had once used, and a body-guard of knights and senators; furthermore they decided that prayers should be offered for him publicly every year, that they should swear by Caesar's Fortune, and should regard as valid all his future acts. Next they bestowed upon him a quadrennial festival, as to a hero, and a third priestly college, which they called the Julian, as overseers of the Lupercalia, and one special day of his own each time in connection with all gladiatorial combats both in Rome and the rest of Italy. When he showed himself pleased with these honours also, they accordingly voted that his golden chair and his crown set with precious gems and overlaid with gold should be carried into the theatres in the same manner as those of the gods, and that on the occasion of the games in the Circus his chariot should be brought in.

· 4 θαι ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ τέλος Δία τε αὐτὸν ἄντικρυσ Ἰούλιον προσηγόρευσαν, καὶ ναὸν αὐτῷ τῇ τ'¹ Ἐπιεικείᾳ αὐτοῦ τεμενισθῆναι ἔγνωσαν, ἱερέα σφίσι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὥσπερ τινὰ Διάλιον προχειρισάμενοι.

7 Καὶ ἃ γε μάλιστα τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐξέφηνεν, ἅμα τε ταῦτα ἐψηφίζοντο καὶ τάφον αὐτῷ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου ποιήσασθαι ἔδοσαν· τὰ τε δόγματα τὰ περὶ τούτων γιγνόμενα ἐς μὲν στήλας ἀργυρᾶς χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν ἐνέγραψαν, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὑπέθεσαν, δηλοῦντές οἱ καὶ μάλα ἐναργῶς ὅτι ἄνθρωπος εἴη.

2 ἤρξαντο μὲν γὰρ τιμᾶν αὐτὸν ὥς καὶ μετριάσοντα· προχωροῦντες δέ, ἐπειδὴ χαίροντα τοῖς ψηφιζομένοις ἑώρων (πλὴν γὰρ ὀλίγων τινῶν πάντα αὐτὰ ἐδέξατο), αἰεὶ² τι μείζον ἄλλος ἄλλο καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐσέφερον, οἱ μὲν ὑπερκολακεύοντες αὐτὸν οἱ

3 δὲ καὶ διασκώπτοντες. ἀμέλει καὶ γυναῖξιν ὅσαις ἂν ἐθελήσῃ³ συνεῖναί οἱ ἐτόλμησάν τινες ἐπιτρέψαι, ὅτι πολλαῖς καὶ τότε ἔτι, καίπερ πεντηκοντούτης ὢν, ἐχρήτο. ἕτεροι δέ, καὶ οἳ γε πλείους, ἐς τε τὸ ἐπίφθονον καὶ ἐς τὸ νεμεσητὸν προάγειν αὐτὸν ὅτι τάχιστα βουλόμενοι τοῦτ' ἐποίουν, ἵνα

4 θάσσουν ἀπόληται. ὅπερ που ἐγένετο, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα θαρσῆσαντος ὥς οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὐθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνων τοιαυτὰ γε ψηφιζομένων οὐθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου τινὸς δι' αὐτοὺς ἐπιβουλευθησόμενου, καὶ τούτου οὐδὲ⁴ σωματοφύλαξιν ἔτι χρησαμένου· τῷ γὰρ δὴ λόγῳ τὸ⁵ πρὸς τε τῶν

¹ τ' supplied by Reim.

² αἰεὶ R. Steph., ἀλλ' εἴ L

³ ἐθελήσῃ Bk., θελήσῃ L.

⁴ οὐδὲ Bk., δὲ L.

⁵ τὸ Leuncl., τῷ L.

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And finally they addressed him outright as Jupiter Julius and ordered a temple to be consecrated to him and to his Clemency, electing Antony as their priest like some *flamen Dialis*. B.C. 44

At the same time with these measures they passed another which most clearly indicated their disposition: it gave him the right to place his tomb within the pomerium; and the decrees regarding this matter they inscribed in golden letters on silver tablets and deposited beneath the feet of Jupiter Capitolinus, thus pointing out to him very clearly that he was a mortal. When they had begun to honour him, it was with the idea, of course, that he would be reasonable; but as they went on and saw that he was delighted with what they voted,—indeed he accepted all but a very few of their decrees,—different men at different times kept proposing various extravagant honours, some in a spirit of exaggerated flattery and others by way of ridicule. At any rate, some actually ventured to suggest permitting him to have intercourse with as many women as he pleased, because even at this time, though fifty years old, he still had numerous mistresses. Others, and they were the majority, followed this course because they wished to make him envied and hated as quickly as possible, that he might the sooner perish. And this is precisely what happened, though Caesar was encouraged by these very measures to believe that he should never be plotted against by the men who had voted him such honours, nor, through fear of them, by any one else; and consequently he even dispensed henceforth with a body-guard. For nominally he accepted the privilege of being watched over

- βουλευτῶν καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἱππέων τηρεῖσθαι προσέ-
 8 μενος,¹ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν φρουρὰν προσκατέλυ-
 σεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν μιᾷ ποτε ἡμέρᾳ τὰ τε πλείω
 καὶ τὰ μείζω σφῶν ψηφισάμενοι (πλὴν γὰρ τοῦ
 Κασσίου καὶ τινων ἄλλων, οἱ περιβόητοι ἐπὶ
 τούτῳ ἐγένοντο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔπαθόν τι, ἐξ οὐπερ
 καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἢ ἐπιείκεια αὐτοῦ διεφάνη, τοῖς
 γε ἄλλοις ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐγνώσθη) προσῆλθον αὐτῷ
 ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου προνάῳ καθημένῳ ὡς καὶ
 πάντες ἅμα τὰ δεδογμένα σφίσιν ἀπαγγελοῦντες
 2 (ὑπόντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν
 ἀναγκαστοὶ ἄλλ' ἐθέλονται αὐτὰ ποιεῖν, ἐχρη-
 μάτιζον), καθήμενός² σφας, εἴτ' οὖν θεοβλαβεῖα
 τινὶ εἴτε καὶ περιχαρεῖα, προσεδέξατο, καὶ ὀργὴν
 ἐκ τούτου πᾶσιν, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἄλλα
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, τοσαύτην ἐνέβαλεν ὥστε ἐν τοῖς
 μάλιστα πρόφασιν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τοῖς ἀποκτεί-
 3 νασιν αὐτὸν παρασχεῖν. ἔλεγον μὲν γὰρ ἀπο-
 λογούμενοί τινες ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅτι τῆς
 τε κοιλίας ἀκρατῆς ὑπὸ διαρροίας ἐγεγόνει, καὶ
 διὰ τοῦτο, ἵνα μὴ ἐξιδίση, κατέμεινεν· οὐ μέντοι
 καὶ πείθειν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐδύναντο διὰ τὸ μετ' οὐ
 πολὺ ἐξεγερθέντα αὐτὸν αὐτοποδία οἴκαδε κομισ-
 4 θῆναι, ἄλλ' ὑπετόπουν τε³ αὐτὸν ὑπεραυχεῖν,
 καὶ δὴ ἐμίσουν⁴ ὡς ὑπερήφανον ὃν αὐτοὶ ταῖς
 ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν τιμῶν ὑπέρφρονα ἐπεποιήκεσαν.
 τούτου δὲ δὴ τοιούτου γενομένου προσεπηύξησε
 τὴν ὑποψίαν ὅτι καὶ δικτάτωρ διὰ βίου μετὰ
 ταῦτα ἀποδειχθεὶς ἠνέσχετο.

¹ προσέμενος Bs., προέμενος L.² καθήμενος Xiph., καθήμενοι L.³ τε Pflugk, γε L.⁴ δὴ ἐμίσουν Rk., διεμίσουν L.

BOOK XLIV

by the senators and knights, and so dismissed the guard he had previously had. Indeed, when once they had voted to him on a single day an unusually large number of these honours of especial importance,—which had been granted unanimously by all except Cassius and a few others, who became famous for this action, yet suffered no harm, whereby Caesar's clemency was conspicuously revealed,—they then approached him as he was sitting in the vestibule of the temple of Venus in order to announce to him in a body their decisions; for they transacted such business in his absence, in order to have the appearance of doing it, not under compulsion, but voluntarily. And either by some heaven-sent fatuity or even through excess of joy he received them sitting, which aroused so great indignation among them all, not only the senators but all the rest, that it afforded his slayers one of their chief excuses for their plot against him. Some who subsequently tried to defend him claimed, it is true, that owing to an attack of diarrhoea he could not control the movement of his bowels and so had remained where he was in order to avoid a flux. They were not able, however, to convince the majority, since not long afterwards he rose up and went home on foot; hence most men suspected him of being inflated with pride and hated him for his haughtiness, when it was they themselves who had made him disdainful by the exaggerated character of their honours. After this occurrence, striking as it was, he increased the suspicion by permitting himself somewhat later to be chosen dictator for life.

B.C. 44

- 9 Ἐνταῦθα οὖν αὐτοῦ ὄντος οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐνδοιαστῶς οἱ ἐπιβουλευόντες οἱ ἔπραττον, ἀλλ' ὅπως δὴ καὶ τοῖς πάνυ φίλοις ἐν μίσει γένηται, ἄλλα τε ἐπὶ διαβολῇ αὐτοῦ ἐποιοῦν καὶ τέλος βασιλέα αὐτὸν προσηγόρευον, καὶ πολὺ τοῦτο τοῦνομα
- 2 καὶ κατὰ σφᾶς διεθρύλουν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐξίστατο μὲν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπετίμα πῃ τοῖς οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐπικαλοῦσιν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔπραξέ τι δι' οὗ ἂν ἄχθεσθαι τῷ προσρήματι ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπιστεύθῃ, τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος
- 3 ἐστῶσαν διαδήματι λάθρα ἀνέδησαν. καὶ αὐτὸ Γαῖου τε Ἐπιδίου Μαρύλλου καὶ Λουκίου Καισητίου Φλάουου δημάρχων καθελόντων ἰσχυρῶς ἐχαλέπηνε, καίτοι μήτε τι ὑβριστικὸν αὐτῶν εἰπόντων, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπαινεσάντων αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πλήθει ὡς μηδενὸς τοιούτου δεόμενον. καὶ τότε μὲν καίπερ ἀσχάλλων ἡσύχασεν·
- 10 ὡς μέντοι μετὰ τοῦτο ἐσιππεύοντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ βασιλέα αὐθὺς τινες ὠνόμασαν, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἔφη βασιλεὺς ἀλλὰ Καῖσαρ καλεῖσθαι, οἱ δὲ δὴ δήμαρχοι ἐκεῖνοι καὶ δίκην τῷ πρώτῳ αὐτὸν εἰπόντι ἔλαχον, οὐκέτι τὴν ὀργὴν κατέσχευ, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ὑπ' ¹ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων προσστασιαζόμενος ² ὑπερηγανάκτησε.
- 2 καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι οὐδὲν δεινὸν αὐτοὺς ἔδρασεν, ὕστερον δέ σφῶν προγραφὴν ³ ἐκθέντων ὡς οὔτε ἐλευθέραν οὔτ' ἀσφαλῆ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ παρρησίαν ἐχόντων περιοργῆς ἐγένετο, καὶ παραγαγὼν σφας ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον κατη-

¹ ὑπ' R. Steph., ἀπ' L cod. Peir.

² προσστασιαζόμενος Reim., προστασιαζόμενος L cod. Peir.

³ προγραφὴν R. Steph., προσγραφὴν L.

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B.C. 44

When he had reached this point, the men who were plotting against him hesitated no longer, but in order to embitter even his best friends against him, they did their best to traduce him, finally saluting him as king, a name which they often used also among themselves. When he kept refusing the title and rebuking in a way those who thus accosted him, yet did nothing by which it could be thought that he was really displeased at it, they secretly adorned his statue, which stood on the rostrum, with a diadem. And when the tribunes, Gaius Epidius Marullus and Lucius Caesetius Flavus, took it down, he became violently angry, although they uttered no word of abuse and moreover actually praised him before the populace as not wanting anything of the sort. For the time being, though vexed, he held his peace. Subsequently, however, when he was riding in from the Alban Mount and some men again called him king, he said that his name was not king but Caesar; but when the same tribunes brought suit against the first man who had termed him king, he no longer restrained his wrath but showed great irritation, as if these very officials were really stirring up sedition against him. And though for the moment he did them no harm, yet later, when they issued a proclamation declaring that they were unable to speak their mind freely and safely on behalf of the public good, he became exceedingly angry and brought them into the senate-house, where he

- γορίαν τε αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο καὶ ψῆφον ἐπήγαγε.
 3 καὶ οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε μὲν αὐτούς, καίτοι καὶ
 τούτου τινῶν τιμησάντων σφίσι, προαπαλλάξας
 δὲ ἐκ τῆς δημαρχίας διὰ Ἑλουίου Κίννου
 συνάρχοντος αὐτῶν ἀπήλειψεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου.
 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔχαιρόν τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἣ καὶ ἐπλάττοντο,
 ὥς οὐδεμίαν ἀνάγκην ἔξοντες παρρησιαζόμενοι
 κινδυνεύσαι, καὶ ἔξω τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντες τὰ
 4 γιγνόμενα ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπιᾶς¹ καθεώρων· ὁ
 δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐκ τούτου διεβλήθη, ὅτι δέον
 αὐτὸν τοὺς τὸ ὄνομά οἱ τὸ² βασιλέως προστιθέν-
 τας μισεῖν, ὁ δὲ ἐκείνους ἀφείλ τοῖς δημάρχους
 ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἐνεκάλει.
 11 Τούτων δ' οὖν οὕτω γενομένων τοιόνδε τι
 ἕτερον, οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν συνενεχθέν, ἐπὶ πλέον
 ἐξήλεγξεν ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν διεκρούετο τὴν ἐπικλησιν,
 2 ἔργῳ δὲ λαβεῖν ἐπεθύμει. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ
 τῶν Λυκαίων γυμνοπαιδίᾳ ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν³
 ἐσῆλθε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τῇ τε ἐσθῆτι τῇ
 βασιλικῇ κεκοσμημένος καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ τῷ
 διαχρύσῳ λαμπρυνόμενος ἐς⁴ τὸν δῖφρον τὸν
 κεχρυσωμένον ἐκαθίζετο, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος
 βασιλέα τε μετὰ τῶν συνιερέων προσηγόρευσε
 καὶ διαδήματι ἀνέδησεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι “τοῦτό σοι ὁ
 3 δῆμος δι' ἐμοῦ δίδωσιν,” ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν ὅτι “Ζεὺς⁵
 μόνος τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς εἶη,” καὶ τὸ διάδημα
 αὐτῷ⁶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἔπεμψεν, οὐ μέντοι
 καὶ ὀργὴν ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὰ ὑπομνήματα
 ἐγγραφήναι ἐποίησεν ὅτι τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ

¹ σκοπιᾶς Hemsterhuis, σκιᾶς L.³ ἀγορὰν Xyl., βασιλείαν L.⁵ Zeus supplied by R. Steph.² τὸ Bk, τοῦ L.⁴ ἐς Bs., καὶ L.⁶ αὐτῷ Rk., αὐτὸ L.

accused them and put their conduct to the vote. He did not put them to death, though some declared them worthy even of that penalty, but he first removed them from the tribuneship, on the motion of Helvius Cinna, their colleague, and then erased their names from the senate. Some were pleased at this, or pretended to be, thinking they would have no need to incur danger by speaking out freely, and since they were not themselves involved in the business, they could view events as from a watch tower. Caesar, however, received an ill name from this fact also, that, whereas he should have hated those who applied to him the name of king, he let them go and found fault with the tribunes instead.

B.C. 44

Another thing that happened not long after these events proved still more clearly that, although he pretended to shun the title, in reality he desired to assume it. For when he had entered the Forum at the festival of the Lupercalia and was sitting on the rostra in his gilded chair, adorned with the royal apparel and resplendent in his crown overlaid with gold, Antony with his fellow-priests saluted him as king and binding a diadem upon his head, said: "The people offer this to you through me." And Caesar answered: "Jupiter alone is king of the Romans," and sent the diadem to Jupiter on the Capitol; yet he was not angry, but caused it to be inscribed in the records that he had refused to accept the kingship when offered to him by the

- τοῦ δήμου διὰ τοῦ ὑπάτου διδομένην οἱ οὐκ ἐδέξατο. ὑπωπτεύθη τε οὖν ἐκ συγκειμένου τινὸς αὐτὸ πεποιηκέναι, καὶ ἐφίεσθαι μὲν τοῦ ὀνόματος, βούλεσθαι δὲ ἐκβιασθῆναί πως λαβεῖν αὐτό,
- 4 καὶ δεινῶς ἐμισήθη. καὶ τοῦτου τοὺς τε δημάρχους ἐκείνους ὑπάτους τινὲς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις προεβάλοντο, καὶ τὸν Βρούτον τὸν Μάρκον τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς φρονηματώδεις ἰδίᾳ τε προσιόντες ἀνέπειθον καὶ δημοσίᾳ προσπαρω-
- 12 ξυνον. γράμματά τε γάρ, τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ αὐτοῦ τῇ πρὸς τὸν πάνυ Βρούτον τὸν τοὺς Ταρκυνίους¹ καταλύσαντα καταχρώμενοι, πολλὰ ἐξετίθεσαν, φημίζοντες αὐτὸν ψευδῶς ἀπόγονον ἐκείνου εἶναι· ἀμφοτέρους γὰρ τοὺς παῖδας, τοὺς μόνους οἱ γενομένους, μειράκια ἔτι ὄντας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ
- 2 οὐδὲ ἔγγονον ὑπελίπετο.² οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦτό τε οἱ πολλοί, ὅπως ὥς καὶ γένει προσήκων³ αὐτῷ ἐς⁴ ὁμοιότροπα ἔργα προαχθείη, ἐπλάττοντο, καὶ συνεχῶς ἀνεκάλουν αὐτόν, “ὦ Βρούτε Βρούτε” ἐκβοῶντες, καὶ προσεπιλέγοντες ὅτι “Βρούτου
- 3 χρήζομεν.” καὶ τέλος τῇ τε τοῦ παλαιοῦ Βρούτου εἰκόνι ἐπέγραψαν “εἶθε ἔξης,” καὶ τῷ τούτου βήματι (ἐστρατήγει γὰρ καὶ βῆμα καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτο ὀνομάζεται ἐφ’ οὗ τις ἰζόμενος δικάζει) ὅτι “καθεύδεις, ὦ Βρούτε” καὶ “Βρούτος οὐκ εἶ.”
- 13 Ταῦτά τε οὖν αὐτόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἀντιπολεμήσαντα τῷ Καίσαρι, ἀνέπεισεν ἐπιθέσθαι οἱ καίπερ εὐεργέτη μετὰ τοῦτο γενομένῳ,

¹ Ταρκυνίους R. Steph., ταρκυνίους L.² ὑπελίπετο R. Steph., ὑπελείπετο L.³ προσήκων Leuncl., προσηκον L.⁴ ἐς R. Steph., ὡς καὶ L.

BOOK XLIV

people through the consul. It was accordingly suspected that this thing had been deliberately arranged and that he was anxious for the name, but wished to be somehow compelled to take it; consequently the hatred against him was intense. After this certain men at the elections proposed for consuls the tribunes previously mentioned, and they not only privately approached Marcus Brutus and such other persons as were proud-spirited and attempted to persuade them, but also tried to incite them to action publicly. Making the most of his having the same name as the great Brutus who overthrew the Tarquins, they scattered broadcast many pamphlets, declaring that he was not truly that man's descendant; for the older Brutus had put to death both his sons, the only ones he had, when they were mere lads, and left no offspring whatever. Nevertheless, the majority pretended to accept such a relationship, in order that Brutus, as a kinsman of that famous man, might be induced to perform deeds as great. They kept continually calling upon him, shouting out "Brutus, Brutus!" and adding further "We need a Brutus." Finally on the statue of the early Brutus they wrote "Would that thou wert living!" and upon the tribunal of the living Brutus (for he was praetor at the time and this is the name given to the seat on which the praetor sits in judgment) "Brutus, thou sleepest," and "Thou art not Brutus."

Now these were the influences that persuaded Brutus to attack Caesar, whom he had opposed from the beginning in any case, although he had later accepted benefits from him. He was also influenced

B.C. 44

- καὶ ὅτι τοῦ Κάτωνος τοῦ Οὐτικησίου κληθέντος, ὥσπερ εἶπον, καὶ ἀδελφιδοῦς καὶ γαμβρὸς ἦν. καὶ μόνῃ γε γυναικῶν ἡ γαμετὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ Πορκία
- 2 τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ὥς φασι, συνέγνω. φροντίζοντι γάρ τι αὐτῷ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ἐπιστάσα ἀνεπύθετο ὅ τι σύννους εἶη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, ὑπώπτευσέ τε διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένειαν ἀπιστεῖσθαι, μὴ καὶ ἄκουσά τι ἐκ βασάνων ἐξείπῃ, καὶ πρᾶγμα μέγα ἐτόλμησε.
- 3 τὸν γὰρ μηρὸν τὸν ἑαυτῆς κρύφα κατέτρωσεν, ὅπως πειραθείῃ εἰ δύναίτο πρὸς αἰκισμοὺς ἀντικαρτερήσai· καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ περιήλγησε, κατεφρόνησε τοῦ τραύματος καὶ προσελθοῦσα αὐτῷ ἔφη “σὺ μὲν, ὦ ἄνερ, καίτοι τῇ ψυχῇ μου πιστεύων ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐκλαλήσει, ὅμως ἡπίστευσ τῷ σώματι, καὶ ἔπασχες γέ τι ἀνθρώπινον· ἐγὼ
- 4 δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εὗρηκα σιωπᾶν δυνάμενον.” ταῦτα εἰποῦσα τὸν τε μηρὸν ἐπέδειξεν οἱ, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ γεγονότος ἐκφήμασα ἔφη “λέγε τοίνυν θαρσῶν πάνθ’ ὅσα συγκρύπτεις· ἐμὲ γὰρ οὐ πῦρ, οὐ μᾶστιγες, οὐ κέντρα ἀναγκάσει τι ἐκλαλήσαι· οὐχ οὕτω γυνὴ γεγέννημαι. ὥς, ἂν γε ἀπιστήσης μοι ἔτι, καλῶς ἔχει μοι¹ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν· ἢ μηκέτι με μηδεὶς μῆτε Κάτωνος θυγατέρα μῆτε
- 14 σὴν γυναῖκα νομιζέτω.” ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Βρούτος ἐθαύμασε, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτ’ αὐτὴν ἀπεκρύψατο, ἀλλὰ αὐτός τε ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐρρώσθη καὶ
- 2 ἐκείνῃ πάντα διηγῆσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν Κάσσιον τὸν Γαίον, σωθέντα μὲν καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ προσέτι καὶ στρατηγία τιμηθέντα, τῆς δὲ² ἀδελφῆς ἄνδρα ὄντα, προσέλαβε. καὶ τού-

¹ ἔχει μοι R. Steph., ἔχοιμι L. ² δὲ Bk., τε L.

by the fact that he was both nephew and son-in-law of that Cato who was called Uticensis, as I have stated. And his wife Portia was the only woman, as they say, who was privy to the plot. For she came upon him while he was pondering over these very matters and asked him why he was so thoughtful. When he made no answer, she suspected that she was distrusted on account of her physical weakness, for fear she might reveal something, however unwillingly, under torture; hence she ventured to do a noteworthy deed. She secretly inflicted a wound upon her own thigh, to test herself and see if she could endure torture. And as soon as the first intense pain was past, she despised the wound, and coming to him, said. "You, my husband, though you trusted my spirit that it would not betray you, nevertheless were distrustful of my body, and your feeling was but human. But I have found that my body also can keep silence." With these words she disclosed her thigh, and making known the reason for what she had done, she said: "Therefore fear not, but tell me all you are concealing from me, for neither fire, nor lashes, nor goads will force me to divulge a word; I was not born to that extent a woman. Hence, if you still distrust me, it is better for me to die than to live; otherwise let no one think me longer the daughter of Cato or your wife." Hearing this, Brutus marvelled; and he no longer hid anything from her, but felt strengthened himself and related to her the whole plot. After this he obtained as an associate Gaius Cassius, who had also been spared by Caesar and moreover had been honoured with the praetorship; and he was the husband of Brutus' sister. Next they pro-

B.C. 44

- του καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰ αὐτὰ σφισι βουλομέ-
 3 νους ἤθροισιν. καὶ ἐγένοντο μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγοι· ἐγὼ
 δὲ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὀνόματα οὐδὲν δέομαι
 καταλέγειν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δι' ὄχλον γένωμαι, τὸν δὲ
 δὴ Τρεβώνιον τὸν τε Βρούτον τὸν Δέκιμον,¹ ὃν καὶ
 Ἰούνιον Ἀλβινόν τε ἐπεκάλουν, οὐ δύναμαι
 4 παραλιπεῖν. πλείστα γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι εὐεργετη-
 θέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ ὃ γε Δέκιμος¹ καὶ
 ὕπατος ἐς τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ἀποδοδεδειγμένος καὶ τῇ
 Γαλατία τῇ πλησιοχώρῳ προστεταγμένος,
 ἐπεβούλευσαν· αὐτῷ.
 15 Καὶ ὀλίγοι γε ἐφωράθησαν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πλήθους
 τῶν συνειδόντων, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος μήτε λόγον
 τινὰ περὶ τοιούτου τινὸς προσδεχομένου καὶ πάννυ
 ἰσχυρῶς τοὺς ἐσαγγέλλοντάς τι τοιοῦτότροπον
 2 κολάζοντος, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ διαμέλλειν. αἰδῶ τε
 γὰρ αὐτοῦ² καὶ ὥς ἔχοντες, καὶ φοβούμενοι,
 καίπερ μηδεμιᾶ ἔτι φρουρᾶ χρωμένου, μὴ καὶ ὑπὸ
 τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν αἰεὶ ποτε ὄντων
 φθαρῶσι, διήγον, ὥστε καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι ἐλεγχθέν-
 3 τες ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ ἔπαθον ἂν τοῦτο, εἰ μὴ
 συνταχῆναι τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα καὶ ἄκοντες ἡναγ-
 κάσθησαν. λόγου γάρ τινος, εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθοῦς
 εἴτε καὶ ψευδοῦς, οἷά που φιλεῖ λογοποιεῖσθαι,
 διελθόντος ὥς τῶν ἱερέων τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα
 καλουμένων διαθροούντων ὅτι ἡ Σίβυλλα
 εἰρηκυῖα εἶη μήποτ' ἂν τοὺς Πάρθους ἄλλως πως
 4 πλὴν ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀλῶναι, καὶ μελλόντων διὰ
 τοῦτο αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν ταύτην τῷ Καίσαρι
 δοθῆναι ἐσηγήσεσθαι, τοῦτό τε πιστεύσαντες

¹ Δέκιμον, Δέκιμος Leuncl., δέκιον, δέκιος L (and so in ch. 18).

² αὐτοῦ R. Steph., αὐ τοῦ L.

BOOK XLIV

ceeded to get together all the others who were of the same mind as themselves and these proved to be not a few in number. There is no need to give a full list of the names, for I might thus become wearisome, but I cannot omit to mention Trebonius and Decimus Brutus, who was also called Junius and Albinus. For these joined in the plot against Caesar, notwithstanding that they also had received many benefits at his hands; Decimus, in fact, had been appointed consul for the next year and had been assigned to Hither Gaul. B.C. 44

They came very near being detected for two reasons. One was the number of those who were privy to the plot, although Caesar would not receive any information about anything of the sort and punished very severely those who brought any news of the kind. The second reason was their delay; for they stood in awe of him, for all their hatred of him, and kept putting the matter off, fearing, in spite of the fact that he no longer had any guard, that they might be killed by some of the men who were always with him; and thus they ran the risk of being discovered and put to death. Indeed, they would have suffered this fate had they not been forced even against their will to hasten the plot. For a report, whether true or false, got abroad, as reports will spread, that the priests known as the *Quindecimviri* were spreading the report that the Sibyl had said the Parthians would never be defeated in any other way than by a king, and were consequently going to propose that this title be granted to Caesar. The conspirators believed this to be true, and

ἀληθὲς εἶναι, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ὧν περ καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος ἦν, ἡ ψήφος ἄτε καὶ ὑπὲρ τηλικούτου βουλευμάτος ἐπαχθήσοιτο, καὶ οὐτ' ἀντειπεῖν τολμῶντες¹ οὔτε σιωπῆσαι ὑπομένοντες, ἐπέσπευσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν πρὶν καὶ ὅτι οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ χρηματισθῆναι.

- 16 Ἐδέδοκτο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὴν ἐπιχειρήσιν ποιήσασθαι. τὸν τε γὰρ Καίσαρα ἥκιστα ἐνταῦθα ὑποτοποῦντά τι πείσεσθαι εὐαλωτότερον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ σφίσιν εὐπορίαν ἀσφαλῆ ξιφῶν ἐν κιβωτίοις ἀντὶ γραμματείων τινῶν ἐσκομισθέντων ὑπάρξειν, τοὺς τε ἄλλους οὐ δυνήσεσθαι,² οἷά
 2 πού καὶ ἀόπλους ὄντας, ἀμῦναι προσεδόκων· εἰ δ' οὖν τις καὶ τολμήσειέ πού, ἀλλὰ τοὺς γε μονομάχους, οὓς πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ Πομπηίου³ θεάτρῳ, πρόφασιν ὥς καὶ ὀπλομαχήσοντας, προπαρεσκευάσαντο, βοηθήσειν σφίσιν ἡλπίζον· ἐκεῖ γάρ πού ἐν οἰκῇματί τινι τοῦ περιστάφου συνεδρεύειν ἔμελλον. καὶ οἱ μὲν, ἐπειδὴ ἡ κυρία ἦκεν, ἔσπε
 τὸ βουλευτήριον ἅμα ἔφ⁴ συνελέγησαν καὶ τὸν
 17 Καίσαρα παρεκάλουν· ἐκείνῳ δὲ προέλεγον μὲν καὶ μάντις τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν, προέλεγε δὲ καὶ ὀνείρατα. ἐν γὰρ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐν ᾗ ἐσφάγη ἦ τε γυνὴ αὐτοῦ τὴν τε οἰκίαν σφῶν συμπεπτωκέναι καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα συντετρῶσθαί τε ὑπὸ τινῶν καὶ ἐς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῆς καταφυγεῖν ἔδοξε, καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τε τῶν νεφῶν μετέωρος αἰωρεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς
 2 τοῦ Διὸς χειρὸς ἅπτεσθαι. πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ σημεῖα οὐτ' ὀλίγα οὐτ' ἀσθενῇ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο· τὰ

¹ τολμῶντες R. Steph., τολμῶντος L.

² δυνήσεσθαι R. Steph., δυνήθησεσθαι L.

³ Πομπηίου H. Steph., πομπηίῳ L. ⁴ ἔφ Rk., ὥς L.

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because a vote would be demanded of the magistrates, among whom were Brutus and Cassius, owing to the importance of the measure, and they neither dared to oppose it nor would submit to remain silent, they hastened forward their plot before any business connected with the measure should come up. B C, 44

It had been decided by them to make the attempt in the senate, for they thought that there Caesar would least expect to be harmed in any way and would thus fall an easier victim, while they would find a safe opportunity by having swords instead of documents brought into the chamber in boxes, and the rest, being unarmed, would not be able to offer any resistance. But in case any one should be so rash, they hoped at least that the gladiators, many of whom they had previously stationed in Pompey's Theatre under the pretext that they were to contend there, would come to their aid ; for these were to lie in wait somewhere there in a certain room of the peristyle. So the conspirators, when the appointed day was come, gathered in the senate-house at dawn and called for Caesar. As for him, he was warned of the plot in advance by soothsayers, and was warned also by dreams. For the night before he was slain his wife dreamed that their house had fallen in ruins and that her husband had been wounded by some men and had taken refuge in her bosom ; and Caesar dreamed he was raised aloft upon the clouds and grasped the hand of Jupiter. Moreover, omens not a few and not without significance

BOOK XLIV

came to him: the arms of Mars, at that time deposited in his house, according to ancient custom, by virtue of his position as high priest, made a great noise at night, and the doors of the chamber where he slept opened of their own accord. Moreover, the sacrifices which he offered because of these occurrences were not at all favourable, and the birds he used in divination forbade him to leave the house. Indeed, to some the incident of his golden chair seemed ominous, at least after his murder; for the attendant, when Caesar delayed his coming, had carried it out of the senate, thinking that there now would be no need of it.

Caesar, accordingly, was so long in coming that the conspirators feared there might be a postponement,—indeed, a rumour got abroad that he would remain at home that day,—and that their plot would thus fall through and they themselves would be detected. Therefore they sent Decimus Brutus, as one supposed to be his devoted friend, to secure his attendance. This man made light of Caesar's scruples and by stating that the senate desired exceedingly to see him, persuaded him to proceed. At this an image of him, which he had set up in the vestibule, fell of its own accord and was shattered in pieces. But, since it was fated that he should die at that time, he not only paid no attention to this but would not even listen to some one who was offering him information of the plot. He received from him a little roll in which all the preparations made for the attack were accurately recorded, but did not read it, thinking it contained some indifferent matter of no pressing importance. In brief, he was so confident

καὶ πρὸς τὸν μάντιν τὸν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην φυλάσσεσθαι ποτε αὐτῷ προαγορεύσαντα εἰπεῖν ἐπισκώπτων “ποῦ δὴτά σου τὰ μαντεύματα; ἢ οὐχ ὁράς ὅτι τε ἡ ἡμέρα ἦν ἐδεδίεις πάρεστι, καὶ ἐγὼ ζῶ;” καὶ ἐκεῖνος τοσοῦτον, ὥς φασι, μόνον ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι “ναὶ¹ πάρεστιν, οὐδέπω δὲ παρελήλυθεν.”

- 19 Ὡς δ' οὖν ἀφίκετό ποτε πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον, Τρεβώνιος μὲν Ἀντώνιον ἔξω πον ἀποδιέτριψεν. ἐβουλεύσαντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τε Λέπιδον
2 ἀποκτεῖναι· φοβηθέντες δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀπολομένων διαβληθῶσιν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ δυνασ-
τεῖα ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει τῆς πόλεως, ἦν² προεβάλλοντο, τὸν Καίσαρα πεφονευκότες, οὐδὲ παρῆναι τὸν Ἀντώνιον τῇ σφαγῇ αὐτοῦ ἠθέλη-
σαν, ἐπεὶ ὁ γε Λέπιδος ἐξεστράτευτο καὶ ἐν τῷ
3 προαστείῳ ἦν. ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὴ Τρεβώνιος διελέγετο· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι τὸν Καίσαρα ἐν τούτῳ ἀθρόοι περιστάντες (εὐπρόσοδός τε γὰρ καὶ φιλοπροσή-
γορος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἦν) οἱ μὲν ἐμυθολόγουν, οἱ δὲ ἰκέτευον δῆθεν αὐτόν, ὅπως ἥκιστα τι ὑποπ-
4 τεύσῃ. ἐπεὶ τε ὁ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε, προσῆλθέ τις αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ χάριν τινὰ γιγνώσκων, καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὤμου καθεῖλκυσε, σημείον τι³ τοῦτο κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον τοῖς συνωμόταις αἴρων· κακὸν τούτου προσπεσόντες αὐτῷ ἐκείνοι
5 πολλαχόθεν ἅμα κατέτρωσαν αὐτόν, ὥσθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν μήτ' εἰπεῖν μήτε πράξαί τι τὸν Καίσαρα δυνηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ συγκαλυψάμενον σφαγῆναι πολλοῖς τραύμασι. ταῦτα μὲν τάληθέσ-

¹ *ναὶ* Xiph., καὶ L.² ἦν supplied by R. Steph.³ *τι* H. Steph., *τε* L.

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that to the soothsayer who had once warned him to beware of that day he jestingly remarked: "Where are your prophecies now? Do you not see that the day which you feared is at hand and that I am alive?" And the other, they say, answered merely: "Yes, but is not yet past."

Now when he finally reached the senate, Trebonius kept Antony employed somewhere at a distance outside. For, though they had planned to kill both him and Lepidus, they feared they might be maligned as a result of the number they destroyed, on the ground that they had slain Caesar to gain supreme power and not to set free the city, as they pretended; and therefore they did not wish Antony even to be present at the slaying. As for Lepidus, he had set out on a campaign and was in the suburbs. While Trebonius, then, talked with Antony, the rest in a body surrounded Caesar, who was as easy of access and as affable as any one could be; and some conversed with him, while others made as if to present petitions to him, so that suspicion might be as far from his mind as possible. And when the right moment came, one of them approached him, as if to express his thanks for some favour or other, and pulled his toga from his shoulder, thus giving the signal that had been agreed upon by the conspirators. Thereupon they attacked him from many sides at once and wounded him to death, so that by reason of their numbers Caesar was unable to say or do anything, but veiling his face, was slain

τατα· ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ ἐκείνο εἶπον, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν Βροῦτον ἰσχυρῶς¹ πατάξαντα² ἔφη “καὶ σύ, τέκνον;”

- 20 Θορύβου δ' οὖν πολλοῦ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε ἔνδον ὄντων καὶ τῶν³ ἔξωθεν προσεστηκότων πρὸς τε τὸ αἰφνίδιον τοῦ πάθους, καὶ ὅτι ἡγνόουν τοὺς τε σφαγέας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τήν τε διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, γενομένου πάντες ὡς καὶ κινδυνεύουσιν
- 2 ἐταράσσονται, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν ἢ ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο, καὶ τοὺς προστυγχάνοντάς σφισιν ἐξέπλησσαν, σαφὲς μὲν οὐδὲν λέγοντες, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα μόνον βοῶντες, “φεύγε, κλείε,
- 3 κλείε.” καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ παραλαμβάνοντες παρ' ἀλλήλων ὡς ἕκαστος διεβόων,⁴ καὶ τήν τε πόλιν θρήνων ἐπλήρουν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τε τὰ ἐργαστήρια καὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἐσπίπτοντες ἀπεκρύπτοντο, καίτοι τῶν σφαγέων ἐς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ὥσπερ εἶχον ὀρμησάντων, καὶ τοῖς τε σχήμασιν ἐνδεικνυμένων καὶ προσεκβοώντων μὴ φοβεῖσθαι.
- 4 ἐκείνοι μὲν γὰρ τοῦτό τε ἅμα ἔλεγον καὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα συνεχῶς ἀνεκάλουν, ὁ δὲ ὁμιλος οὗτ' ἄλλως⁵ ἐπίστευέ σφισιν ἀληθεύειν οὔτε ῥαδίως καθίστατο· ὁψὲ δ' οὖν ποτε καὶ μόλις, ὡς οὔτε τις ἐφονεύετο οὔτε συνελμβάνετο, θαρσήσαντες
- 21 ἡσύχασαν. καὶ συνελθόντων αὐτῶν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν πολλὰ μὲν κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας οἱ σφαγεῖς εἶπον, θαρσεῖν τέ σφας καὶ μηδὲν δεινὸν προσδέχεσθαι ἐκέλευον·

¹ ἰσχυρῶς Xiph., τὸν ἰσχυρῶς L.

² πατάξαντα Xiph., παρατάξαντα L.

³ τῶν supplied by R. Steph.

⁴ διεβόων R. Steph., διαβοῶν L.

⁵ οὗτ' ἄλλως Pflugk, οὐδ' ἄλλως L.

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with many wounds. This is the truest account, though some have added that to Brutus, when he struck him a powerful blow, he said: "Thou, too, my son?" B.C. 44

A great outcry naturally arose from all the rest who were inside and also from those who were standing near by outside, both at the suddenness of the calamity and because they did not know who the assassins were, their numbers, or their purpose; and all were excited, believing themselves in danger. So they not only turned to flight themselves, every man as best he could, but they also alarmed those who met them by saying nothing intelligible, but merely shouting out the words: "Run! bolt doors! bolt doors!" Then all the rest, severally taking up the cry one from another, kept shouting these words, filled the city with lamentations, and burst into the workshops and houses to hide themselves, even though the assassins hurried just as they were to the Forum, urging them both by their gestures and their shouts not to be afraid. Indeed, while they were telling them this, they kept calling for Cicero; but the crowd did not believe in any case that they were sincere, and was not easily calmed. At length, however, and with difficulty, they took courage and became quiet, as no one was killed or arrested. And when they met in the assembly, the assassins had much to say against Caesar and much in favour of democracy, and they bade the people take courage and not expect any harm. For they

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ δυναστείᾳ οὔτ' ἐπ' ἄλλῃ πλεονεξία
οὐδεμιᾷ ἀπεκτονέναι αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ἀλλ' ἔν' ἐλεύ-
θεροί τε καὶ αὐτόνομοι ὄντες ὀρθῶς πολιτεύονται.
- 2 τοιαῦτα ἅττα εἰπόντες τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς κατέ-
στησαν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι οὐδένα ἠδίκουν· αὐτοὶ δὲ
δὴ φοβούμενοι καὶ ὥς μή τις σφίσιν ἀντεπιβου-
λεύσῃ, ἀνῆλθον ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὥς καὶ τοῖς
θεοῖς προσευξόμενοι, καὶ ἐκεῖ τὴν τε ἡμέραν καὶ
- 3 τὴν νύκτα ἐνδιέτριψαν. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλοι
τινὲς τῶν πρώτων ἀφ' ἐσπέρας, τῆς μὲν ἐπιβουλῆς
οὐ συμμετασχόντες, τῆς δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς δόξης, ὥς
καὶ ἐπαινουμένους σφᾶς ἑώρων, καὶ τῶν ἄθλων ἃ
- 4 προσεδέχοντο μεταποιησόμενοι,¹ συνεγένοντο. καὶ
συνέβη γε αὐτοῖς ἐς τοῦναντίον τὸ πρᾶγμα δικαι-
ότατα περιστῆναι· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἔργου
ἅτε μηδὲν αὐτοῦ προσκοινωνήσαντες ἔλαβον, καὶ
τοῦ κινδύνου τοῦ τοῖς δράσασιν αὐτὸ συμβάντος
ὥς καὶ συνεπιβουλεύσαντές² σφίσι μετέσχον.
- 22 Ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Δολοβέλλας οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἠξίου
τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τε τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν
καίπερ μηδέπω οἱ προσήκουσαν ἐσῆλθε, καὶ
δημηγορήσας τι περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐς τὸ
- 2 Καπιτώλιον ἀνέβη. τούτων δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὄντων,
ὁ Λέπιδος μαθὼν τὰ γεγενημένα τὴν τε ἀγορὰν
μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῆς νυκτὸς κατέλαβε,
καὶ κατὰ τῶν σφαγέων ἅμα ἔφ' ἐδημηγόρει.
ὁ οὖν Ἀντώνιος, καίτοι παραχρῆμα μετὰ τὸν
τοῦ Καίσαρος θάνατον φυγῶν καὶ τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα
τὴν ἀρχικὴν, ὅπως διαλάβῃ, ῥίψας καὶ τὴν νύκτα
- 3 κρυφθεῖς, ὅμως ἐπειδὴ τοὺς τε σφαγέας ἐν τῷ

¹ μεταποιησόμενοι H. Steph., μεταποιησάμενοι L.

² συνεπιβουλεύσαντές Leuncl., ἐπιβουλεύσαντές L.

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had killed him, they declared, not to secure power or any other advantage, but in order that they might be free and independent and be governed rightly. By speaking such words they calmed the majority, especially since they injured no one. But fearing, for all that, that somebody might plot against them in turn, they themselves went up to the Capitol, in order, as they claimed, to pray to the gods, and there they spent the day and night. And at evening they were joined by some of the other prominent men, who had not, indeed, shared in the plot, but were minded, when they saw the perpetrators praised, to lay claim to the glory of it, as well as to the prizes which they expected. But for them the event proved most justly the very opposite of their expectations; for they did not secure any reputation for the deed, because they had not had a hand in it in any way, but they did share the danger which came to those who committed it just as much as if they themselves had been in the plot.

Seeing this, Dolabella likewise thought it incumbent on him not to keep quiet, but entered upon the office of consul, even though it did not yet belong to him, and after making a short speech to the people on the situation ascended to the Capitol. While affairs were in this state Lepidus, learning what had taken place, occupied the Forum by night with his soldiers and at dawn delivered a speech against the assassins. As to Antony, although he had fled immediately after Caesar's death, casting away his robe of office in order to escape notice and concealing himself through the night, yet when he ascertained that the assassins were on the Capitol

B C. 44

Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὄντα ἤσθητο, τὴν τε γερουσίαν ἐς τὸ τῆς Γῆς τέμενος ἤθροισε καὶ γνώμας ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων προέθηκε.¹ καὶ εἶπον ἄλλοι τε ἄλλα, ὡς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐγίνγνωσκε, καὶ ὁ Κικέρων τάδε, οἷσπερ καὶ ἐπέισθησαν·

- 23 “Ἄει μὲν ἔγωγε οἶμαι χρῆναι μηδένα μηδὲν μήτε πρὸς ² χάριν μήτε πρὸς φιλονεικίαν λέγειν, ἀλλ’ ὃ βέλτιστον ἕκαστος εἶναι νομίζει, τοῦτ’
² ἀποφαίνεσθαι. δεινὸν γὰρ εἰ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούοντας τοὺς θ’ ὑπατεύοντας πάντα ἀπὸ ὀρθῆς τῆς διανοίας ποιεῖν ἀξιόσομεν, καὶ ἄρα πως σφαλῶσιν,³ εὐθύνας παρ’ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς τύχης ἀπαιτήσομεν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ βουλευέσθαι, ἐν ᾧ κυριώτατοι τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν γνώμης ἐσμέν, τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα τῶν ἰδίων ἔνεκα πλεονεξιῶν προησόμεθα.
³ αἰ μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα, ὧ πατέρες, πάντα ἀπλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς συμβουλεύειν ὑμῖν, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν, ἐν οἷς ἂν μὲν ⁴ μηδὲν ⁵ πολυπραγμονήσαντες ὁμονοήσωμεν, αὐτοί τε σωθησόμεθα καὶ
⁴ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ⁶ περιποιήσωμεν, ἂν δ’ ἀκριβῶς πάντα ἐξετάσαι ἐθελήσωμεν, δέδοικα μὴ κακῶς—δυσχερὲς δ’ οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος τῶν λόγων
 24 εἰπεῖν βούλομαι. πρότερον μὲν γάρ, οὐκ ὀλίγος ἔξ οὗ χρόνος, οἱ τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοντες καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐγκρατεῖς ὡς τὸ πολλὸν ἐγίνοντο, ὥστ’ αὐτοὺς ὃ τι δεῖ βουλεύειν ὑμῖν ἐπιτάττειν, ἀλλ’

¹ προέθηκε Reim., προτέθεικε L.

² μηδὲν μήτε πρὸς Reim., μηδενὸς μήτε πρὸς Rk., μηδενὸς L.

³ σφαλῶσιν R. Steph., σφάλωσιν L.

⁴ μὲν added by Bk. ⁵ μηδὲν R. Steph., μηδὲ ἐν L.

⁶ ἅπαντας Rk., ἅκοντας L.

BOOK XLIV

and Lepidus in the Forum, he assembled the senate in the precinct of Tellus and brought forward the business of the hour for deliberation. When some had said one thing and some another, according to what was in their thoughts, Cicero, whose advice they actually followed, spoke to this effect : B.C. 44

“No one ought ever, I think, to say anything either out of favour or out of spite, but every one ought to declare what he believes to be best. We demand that those serving as praetors or consuls shall do everything from upright motives, and if they make any errors, we demand an accounting from them even for their misfortune ; how absurd, then, if in discussion, where we are complete masters of our own opinion, we shall sacrifice the general welfare to our private interests ! For this reason, Conscript Fathers, I have always thought that we ought to advise you with sincerity and justice on all matters, but especially in the present circumstances, when, if without being over-inquisitive we come to an agreement, we shall both be preserved ourselves and enable all the rest to survive, whereas, if we wish to inquire into everything minutely, I fear that ill—but at the very opening of my remarks I do not wish to say anything that might offend. Formerly, not very long ago, those who had the arms usually also got control of the government and consequently issued orders to you as to the subjects on which you were to deliberate, instead of your

- οὐχ ὑμᾶς ὃ τι χρή πράττειν ἐκείνους προσκοπεῖν·
 2 νῦν δ' ἐς τοῦτο καιροῦ πάνθ' ὡς εἰπεῖν τὰ πράγ-
 ματα πάρεστιν ὥστε ἐφ' ὑμῖν¹ τε αὐτὰ εἶναι
 καὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς¹ ἀνακεῖσθαι, καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν¹ ἦτοι
 τὴν ὁμόνοϊαν καὶ μετὰ ταύτης τὴν ἐλευθερίαν,
 ἥ στάσεις καὶ πολέμους ἐμφυλίου αὐθις καὶ
 3 ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δεσπότην λαβεῖν. ὃ τι γὰρ ἂν
 τήμερον ψηφίσῃσθε, τούτῳ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες
 ἀκολουθήσουσι.² τούτων οὖν οὕτως, ὥς γε
 ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, ἐχόντων φημὶ δεῖν ἡμᾶς τὰς
 μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχθρας ἢ φιλονεικίας, ἢ
 ὅπως ἂν τις αὐτὰς ὀνομάσῃ, καταλύσασθαι,
 πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν παλαιὰν ἐκείνην εἰρήνην καὶ
 4 φιλίαν καὶ ὁμόνοϊαν ἐπανελθεῖν, ἐνθυμηθέντας
 τοῦτό γε, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ὅτι τέως μὲν ἐκείνως
 ἐπολιτευόμεθα, καὶ χώρας καὶ πλούτους καὶ
 δόξαν καὶ συμμάχους ἐκτησάμεθα, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἐς
 τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους κακὰ προήχθημεν, οὐχ ὅσον
 οὐκ ἀμείνους ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ χείρους ἐγενόμεθα.
 5 καὶ ἔγωγε τοσούτου³ δέω νομίζειν⁴ ἄλλο τι
 σῶσαι ἂν ἐν⁵ τῷ παρόντι τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' ἂν
 μή τι τήμερον καὶ ἤδη γε ὅτι τάχιστα προβου-
 λεύσωμεν, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν δυνησόμεθα.
- 25 “Σκοπεῖτε δὲ ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγω, πρὸς τε τὰ
 παρόντα ἀπιδόντες καὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἀναλογισάμενοι.
 ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾶτε μὲν τὰ γιγνόμενα, καὶ ὅτι διαιρεῖται
 τε καὶ περισπᾶται ὁ δῆμος αὐθις, καὶ οἱ μὲν
 ταῦτα οἱ δὲ ἐκεῖνα προαιρούμενοι διχῇ τε ἤδη

¹ ὑμῖν, υμᾶς, ὑμῶν R. Steph., ἡμῖν, ἡμᾶς, ἡμῶν L.

² ἀκολουθήσουσι R. Steph., ἀκολουθήσωσι L.

³ τοσούτου Bk., τοσούτω L.

⁴ νομίζειν Xyl., ὀνομάζειν L.

⁵ ἐν Polak, μὲν ἐν L.

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determining what it was their business to do. But B.C 44
now practically everything is at such an opportune point that matters are in your hands and depend upon you; and from yourselves you may obtain either harmony and with it liberty, or seditions and civil wars once more and a master at the close of them. For whatever you decide on to-day, all the rest of the citizens will follow. This being the state of the case, as I am convinced, I declare that we ought to give up our mutual enmities, or jealousies, or whatever name should be applied to them, and return to that old-time state of peace and friendship and harmony. For you should remember this, if nothing else, that so long as we conducted our government in that way we acquired lands, riches, glory, and allies, but ever since we were led into injuring one another, so far from becoming better off, we have become decidedly worse off. Now I am so firmly convinced that nothing else at present can save the city that if we do not to-day, at once, with all possible speed, adopt some policy, I believe we shall never be able to regain our position at all.

“That you may see, now, that I am speaking the truth, look at present conditions and then consider our position in olden times. Do you not see what is taking place—that the people are again being divided and torn asunder and that, with some choosing this side and some that, they have already fallen into two

- 2 νενέμνηνται καὶ διχῇ στρατοπεδεύονται, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ Καπιτώλιον προκατελήφασιν ὥσπερ τινὰς Γαλάτας φοβούμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πολιορκεῖν αὐτοὺς παρασκευάζονται καθάπερ Καρχηδόνιοί τινες ἀλλ' οὐ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ
- 3 ὄντες; οὐκ ἀκούετε δὲ ὅτι καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις διχογνωμονησάντων τινῶν ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἀουεντίνον ποτε καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ἔστι δ' οὗς αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὄρος κατασχεῖν, ὅσάκις μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις, ἢ καὶ βραχὺ τι συγχωρήσαντες οἱ ἕτεροι τοῖς ἑτέροις, κατηλλάγησαν, μισοῦντές
- 4 τε ἀλλήλους εὐθὺς ἐπαύσαντο, καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου διήγαγον οὕτως ὥστε καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους πολέμους κοινῇ κατορθῶσαι· ὅσάκις δὲ δὴ πρὸς φόβους καὶ σφαγὰς ἐχώρησαν, οἱ μὲν δικαιώσαι τοῦ ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς προὔπάρξαντας, οἱ δὲ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἐλασσοῦσθαι δοκεῖν ἀπατη-
- 5 θέντες, οὐδὲν πώποτε χρηστὸν ἐγένετο; τί γὰρ δεῖ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἡττον ὑμᾶς εἰδότας τὸν Οὐαλέριον, τὸν Ὀράτιον, τὸν Σατορνῖνον, τὸν Γλαυκίαν, τοὺς Γράκχους λέγοντα¹ διατρίβειν; τοιαῦτ' οὖν παραδείγματα, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀλλότρια ἀλλ'
- 6 οἰκεῖα ἔχοντες, μὴ μελλήσητε τὰ μὲν ζηλῶσαι τὰ δὲ φυλάξασθαι, ἀλλ' ἅτε ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν πείραν τῆς ἐκβάσεως ὦν βουλεύεσθε προειληφότες, μηκέτι τοὺς ἐμούς λόγους ὥς καὶ ῥήματα διασκοπεῖτε, ἀλλὰ τὰ² τῷ κοινῷ διαφέροντα ὥς καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἤδη ὄντα θεωρεῖτε.
- 7 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀσαφεῖ τι ἐνθυμήσει τὰφανὲς τῆς

¹ λέγοντα R Steph., λέγοντας L.² τὰ added by Pflugk.

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parties and two camps, and that the one side has seized the Capitol as if they feared the Gauls or somebody, while the others with headquarters in the Forum are preparing, as if they were so many Carthaginians and not Romans, to besiege them? Have you not heard how, though formerly citizens often quarrelled, even to the extent of occupying the Aventine once, and the Capitol, and some of them the Sacred Mount, yet as often as they were reconciled on fair terms, or by yielding a little one to the other, they at once stopped hating one another, and lived the rest of their lives in such peace and harmony that together they carried through successfully many great wars? And how, on the other hand, as often as they had recourse to murders and bloodshed, the one side deluded by the plea of defending themselves against aggression, and the other side by an ambition to appear to be inferior to none, no good ever came of it? Why need I waste time by reciting to you, who know them equally well, the names of Valerius, Horatius, Saturninus, Glaucia, the Gracchi? With such examples before you, examples chosen not from foreign countries but from your own, do not hesitate to imitate the right course and to guard against the wrong, but in the conviction that you have already had in the events themselves a proof of the outcome of the plans you are now making, do not any longer look upon what I say as mere words, but consider that the interests of the state are already involved. For thus you will not be led by any vague notion to put to the hazard

ἐλπίδος ἀναρρίψετε, ἀλλ' ἐχεγγύω πίστει τὸ βέβαιον τοῦ λογισμοῦ προνοήσετε.

- 26 “Ἐπάρχει μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν¹ τοῦθ', ὅπερ εἶπον, οἴκοθεν καὶ παρὰ τῶν προγόνων λαβοῦσιν ὀρθῶς βουλευσασθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ξενικοῖς παραδείγμασι χρῆσθαι ἠθέλησα, μυρία ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχων. ἐν δ' οὖν ὅμως τῆς ἀρίστης καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτης πόλεως, παρ' ἧς οὐδ' οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐπάγεσθαι τινας νόμους ἀπηξίωσαν, παρέξομαι·
 2 καὶ γὰρ αἰσχροὺς ἂν εἶη τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπερέχοντας χεῖρον αὐτῶν βουλεύεσθαι. ἐκεῖνοι τοίνυν (λέγω δὲ ὃ πάντες ἴστε) στασιάζαντές ποτε, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ὑπὸ² τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καταπολεμηθέντες καὶ ὑπὸ² τῶν δυνατωτέρων πολιτῶν
 3 τυραννηθέντες, οὐ πρότερον ἀπηλλάγησαν τῶν κακῶν πρὶν συνθέσθαι καὶ διομολογήσασθαι τῶν τε συμβεβηκότων σφίσι, πολλῶν που καὶ δεινῶν ὄντων, ἐπιλήσεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μήτε ἐγκαλέσειν ποτὲ μήτε μνησικακήσειν
 4 τινί. τοιγάρτοι σωφρονήσαντες οὕτως οὐχ ὅτι τυραννοῦμενοι καὶ στασιάζοντες ἐπαύσαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν εὐθένησαν³ καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν ἀνεκτήσαντο καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς ἀντεποιήσαντο, καὶ τέλος κύριοι καὶ σῶσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτοὺς καὶ
 5 τοὺς Θηβαίους πολλάκις ἐγένοντο. καίτοι εἰ ἠθελήκεσαν⁴ ἐκεῖνοι οἱ τὴν Φυλὴν καταλαβόντες καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατελθόντες τιμωρήσασθαι

¹ ὑμῖν R. Steph., ἡμῖν L. ² ὑπὸ Pflugk, ἐκ L.

³ εὐθένησαν Dind., εὐθῆνησαν L.

⁴ ἠθελήκεσαν St., ἐτεθελήκεσαν L.

BOOK XLIV

your hopes, doubtful at best, but will foresee with justifiable confidence the certainty of your calculations. B C 41

“ It is in your power, then, if you will receive this evidence that I mentioned from your own land and your own ancestors, to decide rightly ; and that is why I did not wish to cite examples from abroad, though I might have mentioned countless such. One example, however, I will offer from the best and most ancient city, from which even our fathers did not disdain to introduce certain laws ; for it would be disgraceful for us, who so far surpass the Athenians in might and intelligence, to deliberate less wisely than they. Now they were once at variance among themselves, as you all know, and as a result were overcome in war by the Lacedaemonians and were subjected to a tyranny of the more powerful citizens ; and they did not obtain a respite from their ills until they made a compact and agreement to forget their past injuries, though these were many and severe, and never to bring any accusation whatever or to bear any malice against any one because of them. Accordingly, when they had thus come to their senses, they not only ceased being subject to tyrannies and seditions, but flourished in every way, regaining their city, laying claim to the sovereignty of the Greeks, and finally gaining the authority, as often happened, to save or destroy the Lacedaemonians themselves and also the Thebans. And yet, if the men who seized Phyle and returned from the Peiraeus had chosen to take vengeance

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡδίκηνητο, εὐλογον
 μὲν ἂν πρᾶγμα πεποιηκέναι ἐδεδόχεσαν, πολλὰ
 δ' ἂν καὶ ἐδεδράκεσαν κακὰ καὶ ἐπεπόνθεσαν.
 6 ὥσπερ γὰρ κρείττους αὐτῶν παρὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα
 ἐγένοντο, τάχ' ἂν τι καὶ ἡλαττώθησαν αὐθις.
 27 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις βέβαιον οὐδέν,
 οὐδ' ¹ ἐξ ὧν ἰσχύει τις, πρὸς ἐπικράτησιν, ἀλλὰ
 πάμπολλοι μὲν θαρσοῦντες ἔπταισαν, πάμπολλοι
 δὲ ζητοῦντες ἀμύνασθαί τινα προσαπώλουντο.
 2 οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πλεονεκτούμενον ἔν τιμι πάντως
 εὐτυχεῖ, διότι καὶ ἀδικεῖται, οὔτε τὸ δυνάμει
 προὔχον πάντως κατορθοῖ, διότι καὶ προήκει,²
 ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρω ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης καὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ
 τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου καὶ τῷ ἀσταθμῇ τῆς τύχης
 ὑποκείμενα, καὶ τὴν ῥοπὴν πολλάκις οὐ πρὸς τὸ
 σφέτερον εὖελπι ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνων ἀδόκητον
 3 λαμβάνει. ὅθεν ἐκ τε τούτων καὶ ἐκ τῆς
 φιλονεικίας (δεινὸν γάρ ἐστιν ἀνθρώπος ἀδικηθεὶς
 ἢ νομίσας γε ἀδικεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ δύναμιν θρασύνασ-
 θαι) καὶ πολλοὶ πολλάκις καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἰσχύϊν
 ἐπαίρονται διακινδυνεύειν ὥς καὶ κρατήσοντες ἢ
 4 οὔτι γε καὶ ἀναιμωτὶ διολογούμενοι, καὶ οὕτω ³ τὰ
 μὲν νικῶντες τὰ δὲ ἡττώμενοι, καὶ τότε μὲν
 ἀντεπικρατοῦντες ἄλλων τότε δὲ ἀντελαττού-
 μενοι, οἱ μὲν πασσυδὶ συναπόλλυνται, οἱ δὲ
 τὴν τε Καδμείαν λεγομένην νίκην νικῶσιν, καὶ ἐν
 τῷ χρόνῳ, ὅτ' οὐδὲν ὄφελός ἐστιν, αἰσθάνονται ὅτι
 κακῶς ἐβουλεύσαντο.
 28 “Καὶ ὅτι ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔργῳ
 μεμαθήκατε. σκοπεῖτε δέ· ἰσχυρὸν τινα χρόνον

¹ οὐδ' Pflugk, οὐτ' L.

² προήκει Ieuncl., πρόηκες L.

³ οὕτω Bk., οὔτοι L.

BOOK XLIV

on the city party for the wrongs they had suffered, while they would, to be sure, have been thought to have performed a justifiable action, yet they would have suffered, as well as caused, many evils. For just as they exceeded their hopes by defeating their foes, they might perhaps in turn have been unexpectedly worsted. Indeed, in such matters there is no certainty with regard to victory, even as a result of one's power, but vast numbers who are confident fail and vast numbers who seek to take vengeance upon others perish at the same time themselves. For the one who is overreached in any transaction is not bound to be fortunate just because he is wronged, nor is the one who has the greater power bound to be successful just because he surpasses, but both are equally subject to the perversity of human affairs and to the instability of fortune, and the turn of the scale often corresponds, not to their own hopefulness, but to the unexpected play of these other factors. As a result of this and of rivalry (for man is very prone when wronged or believing himself wronged to become bold beyond his power) many are frequently encouraged to incur dangers even beyond their strength, with the idea that they will conquer or at least will not perish unavenged. So it is that, now conquering and now defeated, sometimes triumphing in turn and in turn succumbing, some perish utterly, while others gain a Cadmean victory,¹ as the saying goes; and at a time when the knowledge can avail them nothing they perceive that they have planned unwisely.

"That this is true you also have learned by experience. Consider a moment: Marius for a

¹ A proverbial expression for a victory which is of doubtful advantage to the conqueror.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- ἐν τοῖς στασιωτικοῖς ὁ Μάριος, εἴτ' ἐκπεσὼν καὶ δύναμιν ἀθροίσας ἵστε οἷα εἰργάσατο. ὁμοίως ὁ Σύλλας, ἵνα μὴ τὸν Κίνναν μηδὲ τὸν Στράβωνα μηδὲ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς διὰ μέσου καταλέγω, δυνηθεὶς τὴν πρώτην, εἴτ' ἐλαττωθεὶς, ἔπειτα δυναστεύσας οὐδὲν ὃ τι οὐχὶ τῶν δεινοτάτων ἔπραξε. τί γὰρ δεῖ τὸν Μάριον τὸν¹ δεύτερον ἢ τὸν Κίνναν ἐκείνου αὐτὸν ἢ τὸν Κάρβωνα ὀνομάζειν;² μετὰ ταῦτα Λέπιδος ἰδίαν τέ τινα, ὥς δὴ καὶ τούτοις ἐπεξιῶν, στάσιν ἤγειρε, καὶ πᾶσαν ὀλίγου τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐτάραξεν. ὥς δ' ἀπηλλάγη- μέν ποτε καὶ τούτου, μέμνησθε ὅσα αὖ καὶ οἷα πρὸς τε τοῦ Σερτωρίου καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ φυγόντων ἐπάθομεν. τί δ' ὁ Πομπήσιος, τί δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς οὗτος; ἵνα μηδὲν ἐνταῦθα μήτε τοῦ Κατιλίνου μήτε τοῦ Κλωδίου μνημονεύσω. οὐ πρότερον μὲν³ ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ταῦτα συγγενεῖς ὄντες, ἔπειτα μυρίων κακῶν οὐ μόνον τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἢ καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν ὥς εἰπεῖν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνέπλησαν; ἄρ' οὖν μετὰ τε τὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου θάνατον καὶ τὸν πολὺν ἐκείνου τῶν πολιτῶν ὄλεθρον ἡσυχία τις ἐγένετο; πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. οἶδε δὲ ἡ Ἀφρικὴ, οἶδεν ἡ Ἰβηρία τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐκατέρωθι ἀπολομένων. τί οὖν; ἐπὶ γε τούτοις εἰρηνήσαμεν; καὶ πῶς; ὁπότε κεῖται μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ οὕτω σφαγείς, κατέχεται δὲ τὸ Καπιτώλιον, καὶ πεπλήρωται μὲν ἡ ἀγορὰ τῶν ὅπλων, πεπλήρωται δὲ καὶ πᾶσα

¹ τὸν Xyl, τὸ L.

² This sentence savours strongly of an interpolation. Reiske bracketed it ³ μὲν added by Bk.

BOOK XLIV

time was strong amid civil strife; then he was driven out, collected a force, and accomplished—you know what. Likewise Sulla,—not to speak of Cinna or Strabo or the rest who came between,—powerful at first, later defeated, finally making himself master, was guilty of every possible cruelty. And why name the second Marius, or even that same Cinna, or Carbo?¹ After that Lepidus, ostensibly with the purpose of punishing these men, got together a faction of his own and stirred up almost all Italy. When we at last got rid of him, too, remember what we suffered from Sertorius and from his fellow-exiles. What did Pompey, what did this Caesar himself do, to make no mention here of Catiline or Clodius? Did they not at first fight against each other, and that in spite of their relationship, and then fill with countless evils not only our own city or even the rest of Italy, but practically the entire world? Well then, after Pompey's death and that great slaughter of the citizens,² did any quiet appear? By no means. How could it? Africa knows, Spain knows, the multitudes who perished in each of those lands. What then? Did we have peace after this? Peace, when Caesar himself lies slain in this fashion, when the Capitol is occupied, when the Forum is filled with arms and the whole city

¹ See note on Greek text.

² At Pharsalus.

- 29 ἡ πόλις τοῦ φόβου. οὕτως ἐπειδὴν ἄρξωνται
 τινες στασιάζειν, καὶ τὰ βίαια αἰὲ τοῖς βιαίοις
 ἀμύνεσθαι ζητῶσι, καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας μῆτε πρὸς
 τὸ ἐπιεικὲς μῆτε πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἀλλὰ πρὸς
 τε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἐκ τῶν
 ὀπλῶν ποιῶνται, κύκλος τις ἐξ ἀνάγκης αἰὲ τῶν
 κακῶν γίγνεται καὶ ἀνταπόδοσις ἐκ διαδοχῆς τῶν
- 2 δεινῶν συμβαίνει. τό τε γὰρ εὐτυχῆσαν ὕβρει τε
 πλεονάζει καὶ οὐδένα ὄρον τῆς πλεονεξίας ποιεῖται,
 καὶ τὸ παῖσαν ὀργῇ τῆς συμφορᾶς, ἂν γε μὴ
 παραχρῆμα ἀπόληται, ἀντιτιμωρήσασθαι τὸν
 ἀδικήσαντα ἐπιθυμεῖ μέχρις ἂν τὸν θυμὸν ἐκ-
- 3 πλήσῃ. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος, καὶ
 μὴ συμμετάσχη τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ τότε γε
 τῷ τε ἐλέφ τοῦ νενικημένου καὶ τῷ φθόνῳ τοῦ
 κεκρατηκότος, δείσαν τε ἅμα μὴ καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ
 ἐκείνῳ πάθῃ, καὶ ἐλπίσαν τὰ αὐτὰ τούτῳ δράσειν,
- 4 συναίρεται. καὶ οὕτω καὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν
 στασιάζειν προάγεται, καὶ ἄλλοι τε ἐπ' ἄλλοις
 τὸ κακόν, προφάσει τιμωρίας τῶν αἰὲ ἐλαττου-
 μένων, ὥσπερ τι ἔννομον καὶ ἐγκύκλιον πρᾶγμα,
 ἀνταμυνόμενοι διαδέχονται, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ὥς
 ἕκαστοι ἀπαλλάσσουσι, τὸ δὲ δὴ κοινὸν ἐξ
- 30 ἅπαντος τρόπου φθείρουσιν. ἥ οὐχ ὁρᾶτε πόσον
 μὲν χρόνον κατατετρίμμεθα πολεμοῦντες ἀλλή-
 λους, ὅσα δὲ καὶ οἶα ἐν αὐτῷ πεπόνθαμεν, καὶ ὃ γε
 ἔτι¹ τούτου δεινότερόν ἐστι, καὶ δεδράκαμεν;
- 2 καὶ τίς ἂν ἀριθμῆσαι² δύναίτο τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
 χρημάτων ἃ τοὺς τε συμμάχους περιδύοντες καὶ
 τοὺς θεοὺς περισυλῶντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ αὐτοὶ

¹ καὶ ὃ γε ἔτι Bs., καὶ ὃ γε Bk., καίτοι τί L.

² ἂν ἀριθμῆσαι Leuncl., ἀνταριθμῆσαι L.

BOOK XLIV

with fear ? In this way, when men begin sedition and seek ever to repay violence with violence and inflict vengeance without regard to decency or humanity, but according to their desires and the power that arms give them, there necessarily occurs each time a kind of cycle of ills, and alternate requitals of outrages take place. For the fortunate side abounds in insolence and sets no limit to its greed, and the defeated side, if it does not perish immediately, rages at its misfortune and is eager to take vengeance on the oppressor, until it sates its wrath. And the remaining multitude, also, even though it has not taken sides, now through pity for the vanquished and envy of the victorious side cooperates with the oppressed, fearing that it may itself suffer the same evils as the one party, and hoping also that it may cause the same evils as the other. Thus the citizens who have remained neutral are brought into the dispute, and one class after another, on the pretext of avenging the side which is for the moment at a disadvantage, takes up the sorry business of reprisals as if it were a legitimate, everyday affair; and while individually they escape, they ruin the state in every way. Or do you not see how much time we have wasted in fighting one another, how many great evils we have meanwhile endured, and, what is worse than this, inflicted? And who could count the vast amount of money of which we have stripped our allies and robbed the gods and moreover have even contributed ourselves from what

B.C 44

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- ἐξ ὧν οὐκ εἶχομεν συνεσφέροντες, ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις
 3 δεδαπανήμεθα; τίς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν
 ἀπολωλότων, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπεὶ τοῦτό
 γ' ἀνεξεύρετόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων
 καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν, ὧν εἰς ἕκαστος καὶ πᾶσαν
 τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοῖς ὀθνείοις πολέμοις σῶσαι
 4 καὶ ζῶν καὶ ἀποθανῶν ἐδύνατο; πόσοι μὲν γὰρ
 Κούρτιοι, πόσοι δὲ Δέκιοι Φάβιοι Γράκχοι Μάρ-
 κελλοι Σκιπίωνες τεθνήκασιν; οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἵνα
 Σαυνίτας ἢ Λατίνους ἢ Ἰβηρας ἢ Καρχηδονίους
 ἀμύνωνται, ἀλλ' ἵνα . . .¹ καὶ αὐτοὶ προσαπόλων-
 5 ται. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις τετελευτηκότων, εἰ
 καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἐκείνων ὀδύραιτο ἂν τις, ἀλλ'
 ἥττον γε ἄξιόν ἐστιν ὀλοφύρασθαι· ἔς τε γὰρ τὰς
 μάχας ἐβελονταί, εἴγε ἐβελοντὰς τοὺς ἀναγκασ-
 θέντας φόβῳ καλεῖν δεῖ, ἦλθον, καὶ θάνατον εἰ
 καὶ ἄδικον ἀλλὰ ἀνδρείον γε ὑπέμειναν, ἐν τε
 ἀγῶνι ἰσοπαλεῖ καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ κἂν περιγενέσ-
 6 θαι καὶ κρατῆσαι ἔπεσον² ἀναισθήτως. τοὺς δὲ ἐν
 τε ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς τῇ τε ἀγορᾷ τῷ τε
 βουλευτηρίῳ αὐτῷ τῷ τε Καπιτωλίῳ αὐτῷ βιαίως,
 οὐχ ὅπως ἄνδρας ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκας, οὐχ ὅπως
 ἀκμάζοντας ἀλλὰ καὶ γέροντας καὶ παῖδας, οἰκ-
 τρῶς ἐξολωλότας πῶς ἂν τις κατ' ἀξίαν θρηνήσει;
 7 καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα³ οἶα καὶ
 ὅσα οὐτ' αὐτοὶ ποτε πρὸς πάντων ἅμα τῶν πολε-
 μίων ἐπάθομεν οὔτε ἐκείνους ἐδράσαμεν, διατιθέν-
 τες ἀλλήλους οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἀχθόμεθα, οὐδ'⁴ ἀπαλ-
 λαγήναί ποτε αὐτῶν ἀνδρικῶς ἐθέλομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 χαίρομεν καὶ ἐορτάζομεν καὶ εὐεργέτας τοὺς ποι-

¹ Lacuna recognized by Reim.

² ἔπεσον Oddey, ἔπαιον L.

³ καὶ τοσαῦτα supplied by Bk.

⁴ οὐδ' Rk, οὐτ' L.

BOOK XLIV

we did not possess, only to expend it against one another? Or who could number the multitude of men who have been lost, not only of ordinary persons (for that is beyond computation) but of knights and senators, each one of whom was able in foreign wars to preserve the whole city by his life or by his death? How many Curtii, how many Decii, Fabii, Gracchi, Marcelli, and Scipios have been killed? And not, by Jupiter, to repel Samnites or Latins or Spaniards or Carthaginians, but [to kill citizens(?)] and to perish also themselves. As for those who have died under arms, no matter how much we may mourn their loss, yet there is less reason to lament in their case. For they entered their battles as volunteers (if it is proper to call by the name of volunteers men compelled by fear), and they met a death which, even if uncalled for, was at least a brave one; in an equal struggle and in the hope that they might really survive and conquer they fell without suffering. But how can one mourn as they deserve those who have perished miserably in their homes, in the streets, in the Forum, in the very senate-chamber, on the very Capitol, all by violence—not only men, but women, too, not only those in their prime, but also old men and children? And yet, while subjecting one another to so many and so terrible reprisals as all our enemies put together never inflicted upon us nor we upon them, so far from loathing such acts and manfully wishing to have done with them, we even rejoice and hold festivals

B.C. 41

- 8 οὐντας αὐτὰ ὀνομάζομεν· καίτοι ἔγωγε οὐδ' ἀν-
θρώπινόν τινα βίον ἡγοῦμαι τοῦτον ἡμᾶς βεβιωκέ-
ναι, ἀλλὰ τινων θηρίων, ἃ δι' ἀλλήλων φθείρεται.
- 31 “Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἤδη συμβεβηκότα τί ἂν ἐπὶ πλέον
ὀδυραίμεθα; οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἀγέννητα ἂν¹ αὐτὰ
ποιησαίμεθα· τῶν δὲ δὴ μελλόντων προιδώμεθα·
- 2 διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκείνων ἐμνημόνευσα, οὐχ ἵνα
τὰς κοινὰς συμφοράς, ἃς γε μηδὲ γενέσθαι ὄφελε,
καταλέξω, ἀλλ' ἵν' ὑμᾶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναπείσω τὰ
γοῦν λοιπὰ διασῶσαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἂν τις² μόνον
τῶν κακῶν ἀπόναιτο, τὸ μηδὲν αὖθις ὁμοίον σφισι
- 3 παθεῖν φυλάξασθαι. ἔξεστι δὲ τοῦθ' ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ
παρόντι μάλιστα ποιῆσαι, ἕως ἔτι τὸ δεινὸν
ἄρχεται καὶ οὔτε πολλοὶ πω³ συνεστήκασιν, οἵ
τε κεκινημένοι οὔτε πεπλευνεκτήκασιν ἀπ' ἀλλή-
λων οὐτ' ἡλάττωνται, ὥστ' ἡ⁴ ἐλπίδι τοῦ κρείτ-
τονος ἡ⁵ ὀργῇ τοῦ καταδεεστέρου καὶ παρὰ τὸ
συμφέρον σφίσιν ἀπερισκέπτως κινδυνεύσαι προ-
- 4 αχθῆναι. καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι τηλικούτο δν⁶ κατ-
ορθώσετε μήτε πόνον τινὰ πονήσαντες μήτε κιν-
δυνεύσαντες, μὴ χρήματα ἀναλώσαντες, μὴ σφαγὰς
ποιήσαντες, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ψηφισάμενοι,
- 32 μὴ μνησικακεῖν ἀλλήλοις. εἰ γάρ τοί τινα καὶ
ἡμάρτηταί τισιν, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε καιρὸς ἐστὶν οὔτε
πολυπραγμονῆσαι αὐτὰ οὔτε ἐξελέγξαι οὔτε
τιμωρῆσασθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ δικάζετε τισιν ἐν⁷ τῷ
παρόντι, ὥστε τὸ⁸ πάννυ ἀκριβὲς δίκαιον ζητηθῆναι
δεῖν, ἀλλὰ βουλευέσθε περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων,

¹ ἂν supplied by St.² πω Pflugk, που L.³ ἡ supplied by Reim.⁴ ἐν Leuncl., ἂν ἐν L.⁵ ἂν τις supplied by Xyl.⁶ ὥστ' ἡ Rk., ὡς τῇ L.⁷ δν supplied by Pflugk.⁸ ὥστε τὸ Xyl., ὡς τότε L.

BOOK XLIV

and term those who are guilty of them benefactors. Verily, I do not regard this life that we have been leading as human; it is rather that of wild beasts which are destroyed by one another. B.C. 11

"Yet why should we lament further what is already past? We cannot now prevent its having happened. Let us rather provide for the future. This, indeed, is the reason why I have been recalling former events, not for the purpose of giving a list of our public calamities (would to Heaven they had never occurred!) but that by means of them I might persuade you to save at least what is left. For this is the only benefit one can derive from evils, to guard against having ever again to suffer their like. And this is within your power especially at the present moment, while the danger is just beginning, while not many have yet united, and while those who have been stirred to action have gained no advantage over one another nor suffered any set-back, that they should be led by hope of their superiority or anger at their inferiority to incur danger heedlessly and contrary to their own interests. Great as this task is, however, you will deal with it successfully without incurring any hardship or danger, without spending money or causing bloodshed, but simply by voting this one thing, to bear no malice against one another. Even if mistakes have been made by certain persons, this is no time to enquire minutely into them, to convict, or to punish. For you are not at the present moment sitting in judgment upon any one, that you should need to search out with absolute accuracy what is just, but you are deliberating about the situation that has arisen and

- 2 ὅπως ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα καταστή. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἂν
 ὑπάρξειεν ἡμῖν, εἰ μὴ τι παρίδοιμεν, ὥσπερ που
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παίδων ποιεῖν εἰώθαμεν. οὔτε γὰρ
 πάντα ἀκριβῶς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐκλογιζόμεθα, καὶ
 πολλὰ καὶ παρορώμεν ἀναγκαίως· τῶν γὰρ με-
 τρίων ἀμαρτημάτων ἕνεκα οὐδέν¹ ἀνηκέστως δεῖ
- 3 κολάζειν, ἀλλὰ πρῶως σωφρονίζειν. καὶ νῦν οὖν,
 ἅτε καὶ κοινοὶ παντὸς τοῦ δήμου πατέρες οὐ
 μόνον ὀνομαζόμενοι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθῶς ὄντες, μὴ
 καὶ πάντα ἀκριβολογώμεθα, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πάντες
 ἀπολώμεθα, ἐπεὶ τοι πολλὰ μὲν ἂν τις καὶ αὐτῷ
 τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγκαλέσειεν, ὥστε καὶ δικαίως αὐτὸν
- 4 πεφονεύσθαι δόξαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀποκτείν-
 ναντας αὐτὸν αἰτιάσαιτο, ὥστε καὶ τιμωρίας
 αὐτοὺς ἀξιούς εἶναι νομισθῆναι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν
 ἀνδρῶν ἔργον ἐστὶ στασιάσαι αὐθις ἐπιθυμούντων·
 δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ὀρθῶς βουλευομένους μὴ τὸ πάντη
 δίκαιον ἐξακριβοῦντας βλάπτεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ
- 5 ἐπιεικεῖ προσχρωμένους σώζεσθαι. ὥστε τὰ μὲν
 γεγενημένα ταῦτα χαλάζης τέ τινος καὶ κατακλυσ-
 μοῦ τρόπον συμβεβηκέναι νομίσαντες λήθῃ
 παράδοτε· γνωρίσαντες δὲ νῦν γε ἀλλήλους, ἅτε
 καὶ ὁμόφυλοι καὶ πολῖται συγγενεῖς τε ὄντες,
 ὁμονοήσατε.
- 33 “Καὶ ὅπως γε μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ὑποπτεύσῃ με χαρί-
 σασθαί τι τοῖς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀποκτεῖναισιν, ἵνα μὴ
 δίκην δῶσω, ὅτι ποτὲ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πομπηίου μερίδι
- 2 ἐγενόμην, βούλεσθαι,² ἔν τι ὑμῖν ἐρῶ. καὶ γάρ
 τοι καὶ νομίζω πάντας ὑμᾶς πεπεῖσθαι σαφῶς ὅτι
 οὔτε φιλίαν οὔτε ἔχθραν πρὸς οὐδένα πώποτε δι'
 ἑμαυτὸν ἀνειλόμην, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πάντας ὑμῶν ἕνεκα

¹ οὐδέν Reim., οὐδέν L.² βούλεσθαι Leuncl., βούλεσθε L.

BOOK XLIV

as to how it may in the safest way be righted. L.C. 44
But this is something we cannot accomplish unless we overlook some things, as we are wont to do in the case of children. When dealing with them, now, we do not take careful account of everything, but of necessity overlook many things, since for moderate errors it is not right to punish one of them remorselessly, but rather to admonish him gently. And now, since we are in common the fathers of all the people, not in name only, but in reality, let us not enter into a discussion of all the fine points, lest we all perish. For that matter anybody could find much to blame in Caesar himself, so that he would seem to have been justly slain, or again might bring numerous charges against those who killed him, so that they would be thought to deserve punishment. But such a course is for men who are eager to stir up strife again, whereas it is necessary for those who deliberate wisely not to cause their own hurt by meting out strict justice, but to secure their own safety by employing clemency with justice. Regard this, then, that has happened as if it were some hail-storm or deluge that had taken place, and consign it to oblivion. And learn at last to know one another, since you are countrymen and fellow-citizens and relatives, and so live in harmony.

“In order, now, that none of you may suspect me of wishing to grant any indulgence to Caesar’s slayers to prevent their paying the penalty, in view of the fact that I was once a member of Pompey’s party, I will make one statement to you. For I think that all of you are firmly convinced that I have never adopted an attitude of friendship or hostility toward any one for purely personal

- καὶ τῆς κοινῆς καὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ ὁμοιοῦς τοὺς
 μὲν ἐμίσησα τοὺς δὲ ἡγάπησα. δι' οὖν τοῦτο¹ τὰ
 μὲν ἄλλα ἑάσω, βραχὺ δέ τι ὑμῖν μόνον φράσω.
- 3 τοσούτου γὰρ δέω τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ τῆς κοινῆς
 σωτηρίας προσκοπεῖν, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις οὐχ
 ὅτι τὴν ἄδειαν ἀπάντων ὧν ἐπιπολάσαντες ἐπὶ
 τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔξω τοῦ καθεστηκότος ἐποίησαν
 δοθῆναί φημι χρῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς
 ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς δωρεάς, ὅσας ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ,
 καίπερ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενός τιςιν αὐτῶν, φυλαχθῆναι.
- 4 πρᾶξαι μὲν γὰρ ἔτι² καὶ προχειρίσασθαι τι
 τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἂν ὑμῖν συμβουλεύσαιμι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ
 γέγονεν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐκείνων οἶμαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς πολυ-
 πραγμονῆσαι. τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ ζημιωθείητε τοσούτον,
 ἂν τι³ ὁ δεῖνα ἢ ὁ δεῖνα ἔξω τοῦ δικαίου καὶ παρὰ
 τὴν ἀξίαν λαβὼν ἔχῃ, ὅσον ὠφεληθείητε μῆτε
 φόβον μῆτε ταραχὴν τοῖς γε δυνηθεῖσι τότε παρα-
 σχόντες ;
- 5 “Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρὸς τὸ κατεπεῖχον
 ἤδη λέγω· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καταστῇ τὰ πράγματα,
 τότε καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν σκεψώμεθα.”
- 34 Κικέρων μὲν τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν ἔπεισε τὴν γερου-
 σίαν μηδένα μηδενὶ μνησικακῆσαι ψηφίσασθαι·
 ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς ὑπέσχοντο
 τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδὲν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος
 2 πραχθέντων καταλύσειν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δεινῶς
 αὐτοὺς ἀγανακτοῦντας ἥσθοντο μὴ καὶ τῶν δο-
 θέντων σφίσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ στερηθῶσιν, ἔσπευσαν,
 πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν τὴν βουλὴν διαγνῶναι, προκατα-

¹ τοῦτο Bk., ταῦτα L.² ἔτι Bk., τι L.³ τι supplied by Bk.

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reasons, but that it was always for your sake and for the public freedom and harmony that I hated the one side and loved the other ; for this reason I will pass over everything else and make merely one brief statement to you. So far, indeed, am I from acting in the way I have mentioned, instead of looking out for the public safety, that I affirm that the others, too, should not only be granted immunity for their high-handed acts, contrary to established law, in Caesar's lifetime, but that they also should keep the honours, offices and gifts which they received from him, though I am not pleased with some of these. I should not, indeed, advise you to do or to grant anything further of the kind ; but since it has been done, I think you ought not to be troubled overmuch about any of these matters, either. For what loss could you sustain, even if this man or that does hold something that he has obtained apart from justice and contrary to his deserts, so far-reaching as the benefits you would obtain by not causing fear or disturbance to the men who were formerly powerful.

"This is what I have to say for the present, in face of the pressing need. But when matters have become settled, let us then consider the questions that remain."

Cicero by the foregoing speech persuaded the senate to vote that no one should bear malice against any one else. While this was being done, the assassins also promised the soldiers that they would not undo any of Caesar's acts. For as soon as they perceived that the troops were very ill at ease for fear that they would be deprived of what he had given them, they made haste, before the senate reached any decision whatever, to get them on their

λαβεῖν αὐτούς, καὶ τούτου τοὺς τε παρόντας
 αὐτοῦ κάτω προκαλοῦντες ἐς ἐπήκοον διελέγοντό
 3 σφισι τὰ προσήκοντα, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν γράμ-
 ματα καταπέμποντες ἐπηγγέλλοντο μήτ' ¹ ἀφαι-
 ρήσεσθαι ² μηδὲνα μηδὲν μήτ' ἄλλως λυπήσειν,
 τό τε κῦρος σύμπασι ³ τοῖς πραχθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 Καίσαρος ἐκβεβαιοῦν· καὶ ἐς τὴν ὁμόνοιαν αὐτοὺς
 προετρέποντο, ⁴ ὅρκοις τοῖς μεγίστοις ἢ μὴν ἀψευ-
 4 δήσειν πάντα πιστούμενοι. ὥς οὖν καὶ τὰ τῇ βουλῇ
 δόξαντα διηγγέλθη, οὔτε οἱ στρατιῶται τῷ Λεπίδῳ
 ἔτι προσεῖχον οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι δέος τι αὐτοῦ ἔσχον,
 ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς καταλλαγὰς, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὰ
 μάλιστα ἐνάγοντός σφας, καὶ παρὰ τὴν γνώμην
 5 αὐτοῦ ὥρμησαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Λέπιδος πρόσχημα
 τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμωρίαν ποιούμενος νεωτέρων
 πραγμάτων ἐπεθύμει, καὶ ἅτε καὶ στρατεύματα
 ἔχων τὴν τε δυναστείαν αὐτοῦ διαδέξεσθαι ⁵ καὶ
 ἐν κράτει γενήσεσθαι προσεδόκα, καὶ διὰ ταύτ'
 6 ἐπολεμοποιεῖ· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τὰ τε ἐκείνου τοιαῦτα
 ὁρῶν ὄντα, καὶ αὐτὸς μηδεμίαν ἰσχὺν περιβεβλη-
 μένος, οὔτε τι ἐτόλμησε τότε γε νεοχμῶσαι, καὶ
 τὸν Λέπιδον ἡττηθῆναι τοῦ πλείονος, ἵνα μὴ μεί-
 ζων γένηται, προσανέπεισεν. συνέβησαν μὲν οὖν
 ἐφ' οἷσπερ ἐψήφιστο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πρότερον οἱ
 ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ὄντες κατέβησαν πρὶν τὸν τε
 τοῦ Λεπίδου καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παῖδα ἐν
 ὁμήρων λόγῳ λαβεῖν. καὶ Βρούτος μὲν πρὸς τὸν
 7 Λέπιδον (καὶ γὰρ ἐν γένει αὐτῷ ἦν), Κάσσιος δὲ

¹ μήτ' Pflugk, μηδ' L

² ἀφαιρήσεσθαι Pflugk, ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι L.

³ σύμπασι Xyl., σὺν πᾶσι L.

⁴ προετρέποντο H. Steph., προετρέποντο L.

⁵ διαδέξεσθαι R. Steph., διαδέξασθαι L.

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side. Next they invited those who were present at the foot of the Capitol to come within hearing distance and addressed suitable words to them; and they also sent down a letter to the Forum announcing that they would not confiscate anybody's goods or cause injury in other ways, and that they confirmed the validity of all the acts of Caesar. They also urged them to harmony, binding themselves by the strongest oaths that they would faithfully carry out these promises. When, therefore, the action of the senate also was made known, the soldiers no longer paid heed to Lepidus nor did the conspirators have any fear of him, but all hastened to become reconciled, chiefly at the instance of Antony, and quite contrary to Lepidus' purpose. For Lepidus, while making a pretence of avenging Caesar, was really eager for a revolution, and inasmuch as he had legions also at his command, he expected to succeed to Caesar's position as ruler and to come to power; with these motives he was disposed to begin war. Antony, perceiving his rival's favourable situation and having himself no force at his back, did not dare to begin any revolutionary movement for the time being, and in order to prevent the other from becoming stronger, he furthermore persuaded him to bow to the will of the majority. So they came to an agreement on the terms that had been voted, but those on the Capitol would not come down till they had secured the son of Lepidus and the son of Antony as hostages; then Brutus [descended] to Lepidus, to whom he was related, and Cassius to

B.C. 44

πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ¹ συν-
δειπνούντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἄλλα τε, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐν τῷ
τοιούτῳ, πολλὰ ἐλέγετο, καὶ ἐπήρετο τὸν Κάσ-
σιον ὁ Ἀντώνιος “ἄρά γε καὶ νῦν ξιφιδίον τι ὑπὸ
μάλης² ἔχεις;” καὶ ὃς “μάλα” ἔφη “μέγα, ἂν γε
καὶ σὺ τυραννῆσαι ἐπιθυμήσῃς.”

- 35 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐπράχθη, καὶ δεινὸν
οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐγίγνετο οὔτε ἡλπίζετο, ἀλλ' οἱ τε
πολλοὶ ἔχαιρον τῆς³ δυναστείας τοῦ Καίσαρος
ἀπηλλαγμένοι (καὶ τινες καὶ ἄταφον τὸ σῶμα
αὐτοῦ ῥίψαι ἐνενοοῦν), καὶ ἐκεῖνοι εὐθυμοῦντο
μήτε προσπεριεργαζόμενοί τι καὶ ἐλευθερωταὶ
2 τυραννοφόνοι τε ὀνομαζόμενοι. τῆς δὲ διαθήκης
αὐτοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναγνωσθείσης, μαθὼν ὁ δῆμος
ὅτι τὸν τε Ὀκτάουιον υἱὸν πεποιῆται, καὶ τὸν
Ἀντώνιον τὸν τε Δέκιμον καὶ τινας ἄλλους τῶν
σφαγέων ἐπιτρόπους τε αὐτοῦ καὶ κληρονόμους
τῆς οὐσίας, ἂν γε μὴ ἐς ἐκεῖνον ἔλθῃ,⁴ καταλέλοιπε,
3 καὶ προσέτι καὶ δωρεὰς ἄλλοις τέ τινας καὶ τῇ
πόλει τοὺς τε κήπους τοὺς παρὰ τὸν Τίβεριν καὶ
δραχμάς, ὥς μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Ὀκτάουιος γράφει,
τριάκοντα, ὥς δὲ ἕτεροι, πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα
ἐκάστῳ σφῶν δοθῆναι κεκέλευκεν, ἐταράχθησαν.
4 καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιπαρώξυνε, τὸν τε νεκρὸν
ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀνοητότατα⁵ κομίσας, καὶ προθέ-
μενος ἡματωμένον τε, ὥσπερ εἶχε, καὶ τραύματα
ἐκφαίνοντα, καὶ τινα καὶ λόγον ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἄλλως
μὲν⁶ περικαλλῇ καὶ λαμπρόν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ

¹ Lacuna recognized by Bs. ² μάλης Xiph., μασχάλης L.

³ τῆς Bk., τῆς τε L.

⁴ ἔλθῃ Dind., ἔλθοι L.

⁵ Here begins Codex Marcianus 395 (M).

⁶ μὲν Pflugk, τε LM.

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Antony, under promise of safety. And while they B.C. 44
were dining together they naturally, at such a juncture, discussed a variety of topics and Antony asked Cassius : " Have you perchance a dagger under your arm even now ? " To which he answered : " Yes, and a big one, if you too should desire to make yourself tyrant."

This was the way things went at that time. No injury was inflicted or expected, but instead the majority were glad to be rid of Caesar's rule, some of them even conceiving the idea of casting his body out unburied, and the conspirators, well pleased at being called liberators and tyrannicides, did not busy themselves with any further undertaking. But later, when Caesar's will was read and the people learned that he had adopted Octavius as his son and had left Antony along with Decimus and some of the other assassins to be the young man's guardians and heirs to the property in case it should not come to him, and, furthermore, that he not only had made various bequests to individuals but had also given his gardens along the Tiber to the city and one hundred and twenty sesterces, according to the record of Octavius himself, or three hundred, according to some others, to each of the citizens,—at this the people became excited. And Antony aroused them still more by bringing the body most inconsiderately into the Forum, exposing it all covered with blood as it was and with gaping wounds, and then delivering over it a speech, which was very

συμφέροντα τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν, εἰπών. ἔλεξε γὰρ τοιαύδε·

- 36 “Εἰ μὲν οὗτος ιδιωτεύων ἐτεθνήκει καὶ γὰρ ἐν ιδιωτείᾳ ὢν ἐτύγχανον, οὐτ’ ἂν πολλῶν, ὧ Κυριῖται, λόγων ἐδεήθην, οὐτ’ ἂν πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένοις ἐπεξήλθον, ἀλλ’ ὀλίγα ἂν περὶ τε τοῦ γένους καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδείας τῶν τε τρόπων αὐτοῦ εἰπών, καὶ πῃ καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῷ πεπολιτευμένων μνησθεῖς, ἡρκέσθην, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δι’ ὅχλου τοῖς οὐδέν οἱ προσήκουσι γένωμαι.
- 2 ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὗτός τε τὴν μεγίστην ἐν ὑμῖν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχων ἀπόλωλε καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν δευτέραν ἄρχω λαβών, τὸν τε λόγον ἀνάγκη μοι διπλοῦν, τὸν μὲν ὡς κληρονόμῳ γεγραμμένῳ τὸν δὲ ὡς ἄρχοντι, ποιήσασθαι, καὶ μὴδ’ ὅτιοῦν τῶν λεχθῆναι ὀφειλόντων παραλιπεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἅπερ ἂν ὁ σύμπας δῆμος ἀπὸ μιᾶς γλώσσης, εἴγε μίαν
- 3 φωνὴν ἡδυνήθη λαβεῖν, ὑμνησεν, εἰπεῖν. εὐ μὲν γὰρ οἶδα τοῦθ’, ὅτι χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν τυχεῖν. ἄλλως τε γὰρ οὐ ῥᾶδιον τῶν τηλικούτων ἐφικέσθαι· τίς γὰρ ἂν λόγος ἔργοις μεγάλοις ἐξισωθεῖ; καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ βουλήματα ἅπληστα ἐξ ὧν σύνιστε ἔχοντες οὐκ εὐχερεῖς
- 4 αὐτῶν κριταὶ γενήσεσθε. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ τισιν οἱ λόγοι ἐγίνοντο, ῥᾶστον ἂν ἦν αὐτοὺς τῷ γε¹ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων ἐκπλήξαντα πείσαι· νῦν δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ συνήθους ἔλαττον ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ² πᾶν τὸ λεχθῆσόμενον τοῦ πεπραγμένου νομισθῆναι.
- 5 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀλλότριον, καὶ ἀπιστήσωσιν αὐτοῖς διὰ φθόρον, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γε ἐκείνου πᾶν τὸ

¹ γε Rk., τε LM.

² ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ R. Steph., ἀναγκασθῆι LM

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ornate and brilliant, to be sure, but out of place on that occasion. He spoke somewhat as follows: B.C. 44

"If this man had died as a private citizen, Quirites, and I had happened to be in private life, I should not have required many words nor have rehearsed all his achievements, but after making a few remarks about his family, his education, and his character, and perhaps mentioning his services to the state, I should have been satisfied, desiring only not to become wearisome to those who were unrelated to him. But since this man when he perished held the highest position among you and I have received and hold the second, it is requisite that I should deliver a two-fold address, one as the man set down as his heir and the other in my capacity as magistrate, and I must not omit anything that ought to be spoken, but must mention the things which the whole people would have celebrated with one tongue if they could speak with one voice. Now I am well aware that it is difficult successfully to utter your thoughts; for it is no easy task in any case to measure up to so great a theme—indeed, what speech could equal the greatness of his deeds?—and you, whose wishes are not easily satisfied because you know the facts as well as I, will prove no lenient judges of my efforts. To be sure, if my words were being addressed to men ignorant of the subject, it would be very easy to win their approval by astounding them by the very magnitude of his achievements; but as the matter stands, because of your familiarity with them it is inevitable that everything that shall be said will be thought less than the reality. Strangers, even if through jealousy they doubt the deeds, yet for that very reason deem each

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- ἀκουσθὲν αὐταρκες ἡγούνται· τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον ἀκόρεστον ὑπὸ τῆς εὐνοίας ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίγνεται. τῶν γὰρ ἀρετῶν τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοὶ πλείστον ἀπολελαυκότες καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον αὐτῶν οὐ φθονερώς, ὥς οὐδὲν προσήκοντα, ἀλλ' εὐμενῶς, 6 ὥς οἰκεῖον, ἀπαιτεῖτε. σπουδάσω δ' οὖν ἐπὶ μακρότατον τὰς βουλήσεις ὑμῶν ἀποπληρῶσαι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐ πρὸς τὴν δύναμίν μου τῶν λόγων καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐξετάσετε, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς προθυμίας καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐκείνην ἐνδεὲς ἀνισώσετε.¹
- 37 “ Δέξω δὲ περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ πρῶτον, οὐχ ὅτι λαμπρότατόν ἐστι· καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο οὐ σμικρὸν ἐς ἀρετῆς φύσιν φέρει, τὸ μήτε ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου τινα ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς συγγενοῦς 2 ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐξ εὐγενῶν φύντες δύναιτο μὲν ἂν καὶ προσποιητῶς ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι, δύναιτο δ' ἂν καὶ ἐλεγχθῆναι ποτε ἐς τὸ κακογενὲς ὑπὸ τοῦ συμφύτου· ὅσοις δὲ ἄνωθεν ἐκ πολλοῦ σπέρμα ἀνδραγαθίας ὑπάρχει, πᾶσα αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκη καὶ αὐτόφυτον καὶ 3 διαρκῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχειν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔγωγε οὐ τοῦτο μάλιστα νῦν ἐπαινῶ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτι τὰ μὲν νεώτατα ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ γενναίων ἀνδρῶν ἔφν, τὰ δὲ ἀρχαιότατα ἐκ βασιλέων καὶ θεῶν ἐγίγνετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ὅλης συγγενῆς ἐστίν (ἐκ γὰρ ᾧ οὗτος ἐγεννήθη, πρὸς 4 τούτων ἡμεῖς ᾠκίσθημεν), ἔπειθ' ὅτι τῶν προπατόρων αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ θεῖον δι' ἀρετὴν ἀνήκειν νομισθέντων οὐχ ὅπως ἐπηλήθευσε τὴν
- 370

¹ ἀνισώσετε Dind., ἀνασώσετε LM.

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statement they hear strong enough ; but your minds, B.C. 44
because of your good-will, must inevitably prove impossible to satisfy. For you yourselves have profited most by Caesar's virtues, and you demand their praises, not half-heartedly, as if he were unrelated to you, but with deep affection as for your own kinsman. I shall strive, therefore, to meet your wishes to the fullest extent, and I feel sure that you will not judge my good-will by the feebleness of my words, but will supply from my zeal whatever is lacking in that respect.

"I shall speak first about his lineage, though not because it is the most brilliant. Yet this, too, has considerable bearing on the nature of virtue, that a man should become good, not through force of circumstances, but by inherited power. Those, to be sure, who are not born of noble parents may disguise themselves as noble men, but may also some day be convicted of their base origin by their inborn character ; those, however, who possess the seed of a noble nature, handed down through a long line of ancestors, cannot possibly help possessing a virtue both spontaneous and enduring. Still, I am praising Caesar now, not so much because his recent lineage is through many noble men, his ancient origin from kings and gods, but because, in the first place, he is a kinsman of our whole city,—for those who founded his line also founded our city,—and, secondly, because he not only confirmed the renown of his forefathers who were believed to have attained divinity through their virtue, but

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actually enhanced it; so that if anyone was inclined B.C. 44
formerly to argue that Aeneas could never have been born of Venus, let him now believe it. For, although in times past some unworthy sons have been imputed to the gods, yet no one could deem this man unworthy to have had gods for his ancestors. Indeed, Aeneas himself ruled as king and so did some of his descendants; but this man proved himself so much superior to them that, whereas they were monarchs of Lavinium and Alba, he refused to become king of Rome; and whereas they laid the foundation of our city, he raised it to such a height that he even established colonies greater than the cities over which they ruled.

“So much, then, for his family. That he also received a nurture and a training corresponding to the dignity of his noble birth how could one better realize than by the cogent proof his deeds afford? For is it not inevitable that a man who possessed to a conspicuous degree a body that was altogether adequate and a spirit that was more than adequate for all contingencies alike of peace and of war, must have been reared in the best possible way? And yet it is difficult for any man of surpassing beauty to show the greatest endurance, and difficult for one who is powerful in body to attain to the greatest wisdom, but it is particularly difficult for one and the same man to shine both in words and in deeds. Yet this man—I speak among those who know the

- τι ἀρχὴν ψεύσασθαι, καὶ γὰρ ἂν αὐτόφωρος ἀλισκοίμην, μήτε ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον ὀγκῶσαι, καὶ γὰρ ἂν¹ ἐς τοῦναντίον οὐ βούλομαι² καθισταίμην.
- 4 αὐτός τε γὰρ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι δικαιοτάτα, ἂν γέ τι τοιοῦτο³ ποιήσω, ὑποπτευθήσομαι, καὶ τὴν τούτου ἀρετὴν ἐλάσσω τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ παρ' ὑμῖν δόξης φαίνεσθαι ποιεῖν νομισθήσομαι. πᾶς γὰρ λόγος ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε λεγόμενος, καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ψεύδους⁴ προσλάβῃ, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἔπαινον αὐτῷ φέρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔλεγχον αὐτοῦ
- 5 ἔχει· τὸ γὰρ συνειδὸς τῶν ἀκροωμένων, οὐχ ὁμολογοῦν τῷ πεπλασμένῳ, πρὸς τε τὴν ἀλήθειαν φέρεται, καὶ τάχα ἀρκεσθὲν αὐτῇ μαυθάνει τε ἅμα ὁποῖόν τινα ἐχρῆν εἶναι, καὶ παραβάλλον ἐκάτερα καταφωρᾷ τὸ λείπον. ἀληθεύων οὖν λέγω τοῦθ', ὅτι ὁ Καῖσαρ οὗτος τό τε σῶμα ἅμα ἱκανώτατος
- 6 καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εὐκολώτατος ἐγένετο. τῇ τε γὰρ τῆς φύσεως ἰσχύϊ θαυμαστῇ ἐκέχρητο, καὶ παιδείᾳ παντοδαπῇ ἀκριβῶς ἥσκητο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπεικότης καὶ γινῶναι πᾶν τὸ δέον ὀξύτατα καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι πιθανώτατα διαθέσθαι τε καὶ διοικῆσαι φρονιμώτατα αἰεὶ ἠδυνήθη, καὶ οὔτε τις αὐτὸν καιροῦ ῥοπὴ αἰφνιδίως οἱ προσπεσοῦσα προκατέλαβεν, οὔτ' ἀπόρρητος μέλλησις χροῦσασα διέλαθε.⁵
- 7 πάντα γὰρ αἰεὶ πρὶν ἐπαρτηθῆναι⁶ καὶ προδιεγίγνωσκε, καὶ πρὸς πάντα τὰ συμβῆναί τι⁷ δυνάμενα προπαρεσκεύαστο· τό

¹ ἂν supplied by Pflugk.² βούλομαι V, βουλεύομαι LM³ τοιοῦτο R. Steph., τοῦτο LM.⁴ τὸ βραχύτατον ψεύδους Bk., τὸ βραχὺ τὸ ψεῦδος LM.⁵ διέλαθε Rk., διελάθετο LM cod. Peir.⁶ ἐπαρτηθῆναι Rk., ἀπαρτηθῆναι L.⁷ τι L (and M by cor.), τι cod. Peir. (and M originally).

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facts, so that I shall not falsify in the least degree, B.C. 44
since I should be caught in the very act, nor heap up exaggerated praises, since then I should accomplish the opposite of what I wish. For if I do anything of that sort, I shall be suspected with full justice of boasting, and it will be thought that I am making his virtue appear less than the belief in it which is already in your own minds. In fact, every utterance delivered under such conditions, in case it contains even the smallest amount of falsehood, not only bestows no praise upon its subject but actually involves censure of him; for the knowledge of the hearers, not agreeing with the fictitious report, takes refuge in the truth, where it quickly finds satisfaction, and not only learns what kind of man he ought to have been, but also, by comparing the two, detects what he lacked. Stating only the truth, therefore, I affirm that this Caesar was at the same time most capable in body and most versatile in spirit. For he enjoyed a wonderful natural force and had been carefully trained by the most liberal education, which always enabled him, not unnaturally, to comprehend everything that was needful with the greatest keenness, to interpret the need most convincingly, and then to arrange and handle the matter most prudently. No critical turn in a situation came upon him so suddenly as to catch him off his guard, nor did a secret menace, no matter how long the postponement, escape his notice. For he decided always with regard to every crisis before it was at hand, and was prepared beforehand for every contingency that could happen to one. He

- τε κρυπτόμενον ἰσχυρῶς ἀνευρεῖν καὶ τὸ
 φαινόμενον πιθανῶς ψευδαγνοεῖν, τό τε λανθά-
 νον¹ εἰδέναι προσποιήσασθαι καὶ τὸ γιγνωσκό-
 8 μενον ἀποκρύψασθαι, τοὺς τε καιροὺς σφισιν
 ἐφαρμόσαι καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
 ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι καὶ
 ἐπεξελθεῖν πάνθ' ὡς ἕκαστα καλῶς ἠπίστατο.
- 39 τεκμήριον δέ, τά τε ἴδια εὐοικότατός τε ἅμα καὶ
 εὐδαπανώτατος ἐγένετο, ἀκριβῆς μὲν ὦν ἐς τὸ τὰ
 ὑπάρχοντα διαρκῶς φυλάξαι, δαψιλῆς δὲ ἐς τὸ τὰ
 προσήκοντα ἀφειδῶς ἀναλῶσαι, καὶ τοὺς
 συγγενεῖς πάντας πλὴν τῶν ἀνοσιωτάτων
- 2 ἰσχυρῶς ἠγάπησεν· οὔτε γὰρ δυστυχήσαντά
 τινα αὐτῶν ὑπερείδεν οὔτε εὐτυχήσαντί τινι
 ἐφθόνησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτοις τὰ προυπάρχοντα
 συνεπηύξησε καὶ ἐκείνοις τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀνεπλή-
 ρωσε, τοῖς μὲν χρήματα τοῖς δὲ χωρία τοῖς δὲ ἀρχὰς
- 3 τοῖς δὲ ἱερῶσυνας δούς. καὶ μέντοι καὶ πρὸς
 τοὺς φίλους τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς προσομιλοῦντάς
 οἱ θαυμαστῶς προσεφέρετο· οὔτε γὰρ ὑπερ-
 εφρόνει τινὰ αὐτῶν οὔθ' ὕβριζεν, ἀλλ' εὐπροσή-
 γορος πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ὦν τοὺς τε ὑπουργοῦντάς τι
 πολλαπλασίως ἡμίβετο καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς
 εὐεργεσίαις ἀνηρτᾶτο, καὶ οὔτε λαμπρυνόμενόν
 τινα ἐβάσκηνέ ποτε οὔτ' αὐξανόμενον ἐταπεί-
 4 νωσεν, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ πάντων σφῶν καὶ
 μεγαλυνόμενος καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ κόσμον προσκτώ-
 μενος, ἔχαιρε πλείστους ἑαυτῷ παρισυμένους.
 τοιοῦτος μέντοι περὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ περὶ τοὺς
 γνωρίμους ὦν οὐδ' ἐς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὤμος οὐδ'

¹ λανθάνον Leuncl., λανθάνειν LM cod. Peir.

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understood well how to discern shrewdly what was concealed, to dissimulate plausibly what was evident, to pretend to know what was hidden, to conceal what he knew, to adapt occasions to one another and to draw the proper inferences from them, and furthermore to accomplish and carry out in detail every enterprise. A proof of this is that in his private affairs he showed himself an excellent manager and very liberal at the same time, being careful to keep enough of what he had inherited, yet lavish in spending with an unsparing hand what he had acquired, and for all his relatives, except the most impious, he possessed a strong affection. For he did not neglect any of them in misfortune, nor did he envy those in good fortune, but he helped these to increase the property they already had, and made up to the others what they lacked, giving some of them money, some lands, some offices, and some priest-hoods. Again, his conduct toward his friends and other associates was remarkable. He never scorned or insulted any of them, but while courteous to all alike, he rewarded many times over those who assisted him in any project and won the devotion of the rest by benefits, never disparaging any one of brilliant position, nor humiliating any one who was bettering himself, but, just as if he himself were being exalted through all of them and were acquiring strength and honour, he took delight in seeing great numbers become equal to himself. And yet, while he behaved thus toward his friends and acquaintances, he did not show himself cruel or

11 C. 44

5 ἀπαραίτητος ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ τῶν ἰδία τι προσκρουσάντων οἱ ἀθῶους ἀφῆκε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν προσπολεμησάντων ἀπέλυσε, καὶ τισιν αὐτῶν καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς ἔδωκεν. οὕτω πον πᾶς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐπεφύκει, καὶ κακίαν οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς οὐκ εἶχεν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἐνεῖναι ἐπίστευεν.

- 40 “Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τούτους τοὺς λόγους ἀφικόμην,¹ ἄρξομαι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν αὐτοῦ πολιτευμάτων λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἐβεβιώκει, τάχ' ἂν ἀνέλεγκτον² τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔσχεν· νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ πλείστον αὐξηθεὶς, καὶ μέγιστος οὐχ ὅτι τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων τῶν τι δυνηθέντων γενόμενος, ἐκπρεπέστερον 2 αὐτὴν ἐπεδείξατο.³ ἐκείνους μὲν γὰρ σχεδόν τι πάντας αὐτῇ ἢ ἐξουσία διήλεγξε, τοῦτον δὲ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐξέφηνε. τῷ γὰρ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντιπάλους πράξεις λαβὼν ἰσοστάσιος αὐταῖς ἠϋρέθη, καὶ μόνος ἀνθρώπων τηλικαύτην αὐτῷ τύχην ἐξ ἀνδραγαθίας κτησάμενος οὔτε διέβαλεν 3 αὐτὴν οὐθ' ὕβρισεν. ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἄλλως στρατευόμενος ἐλαμπρύνετο, ἢ ὅσα ἐν ταῖς ἐγκυκλίοις λειτουργίαις ἐμεγαλοφρονήσατο, παραλείψω, καίπερ τοσαῦτα ὄντα ὥστ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ καὶ πάνυ ἂν ἐς ἔπαινον ἐξαρκέσαι· πρὸς γὰρ τοι τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἔργων σμικρολογεῖσθαι δόξω, ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξίω· ὅσα δὲ δὴ ἀρχῶν⁴ ὑμῶν ἔπραξε, ταῦτ'

¹ ἀφικόμην R. Steph., ἀφίκομαι LM cod. Peir.

² τάχ' ἂν ἀνέλεγκτον L, τάχ' ἂν ἀνανέλεγκτον M, τάχα ἀνέλεγκτον cod. Peir.

³ ἐπεδείξατο Bk., ἀπεδείξατο LM cod. Peir.

⁴ ἀρχῶν R. Steph., ὁ ἀρχῶν LM cod. Peir.

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inexorable even to his enemies, but let off scot-free B.C. 44
many of those who had come into collision with him personally and released many who had actually made war against him, even giving some of them honours and offices. So strong a natural bent had he toward virtue, and not only had no vice himself, but would not believe that it existed in anybody else.

“And since I have reached this topic, I will begin to speak about his public services. If he had lived in quiet retirement, perhaps his virtue would not have been clearly proved; but as it was, by being raised to the highest position and becoming the greatest not only of his contemporaries but of all others who ever wielded any power, he displayed it more conspicuously. For in the case of nearly all the others this authority had served only to reveal their weakness, but him it made more illustrious, since by reason of the greatness of his virtue he undertook correspondingly great deeds, and was found to be equal to them; he alone of men after obtaining for himself so great good fortune as a result of his nobility of character neither disgraced it nor treated it wantonly. I shall pass over, then, the brilliant successes which he regularly achieved in his campaigns and the high-mindedness he showed in his ordinary public services, although they were so great that for any other man they would warrant high praise; for, in view of the distinction of his subsequent deeds, I shall seem to be dealing in trivialities, if I also rehearse these scrupulously. I shall therefore only mention his achievements

- 4 ἐρῶ μόνα. καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς διηγήσομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐξικέσθαι ποτ' ἂν αὐτῶν δυνηθείην, καὶ πάμπολυν ἂν ὑμῖν ὄχλον ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰδόσι ταῦτα παράσχοιμι.
- 41 “Ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ οὗτος πρῶτον μὲν πάντων στρατηγήσας ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, καὶ ὑπουλον αὐτὴν εὐρών, οὐ περιεῖδέ σφας ὑπὸ τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης ὀνόματι ἀνανταγωνίστους γιγνομένους, οὐδ' εἴλετο αὐτὸς¹ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνον διαγενεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα πράξαι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδήπερ ἐκόντες οὐ μετεμέλοντο, καὶ ἄκοντάς σφας ἐσω-
 2 φρόνισεν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πρότερόν ποτε εὐδοκιμήσαντας κατ' αὐτῶν τοσοῦτον ὑπερβαλέσθαι ὅσον τὸ φυλάξαι τι τοῦ κτήσασθαι ἡχαλεπώτερόν ἐστι, καὶ τὸ μηδ' αὐθίς ποτε νεωτερίσαι τινὰς δυνηθῆναι ἐξεργάσασθαι τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπηκόους αὐτούς, ἀκεραίου τῆς δυνάμεώς σφισιν οὔσης,
 3 ποιήσασθαι λυσιτελέστερον. τοιγάρτοι καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐψηφίσασθε καὶ πῇ ἀρχὴν τὴν ὑπατον εὐθὺς ἐδώκατε. ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διεφάνη τοῦθ', ὅτι οὔτε ἐπιθυμίας οὔτε εὐκλείας οἰκείας ἔνεκα τὸν τε πόλεμον ἐκείνουν ἐποιήσατο καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ παρεσκευάζετο.
 4 παριδὼν γοῦν² τὴν πέμψιν³ τῶν νικητηρίων διὰ τὸ τὰ πράγματα κατεπείγειν, καὶ χάριν μὲν ὑμῖν τῆς τιμῆς γνούς, ἀρκεσθεὶς δὲ αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ πρὸς τὴν δόξαν, ὑπάτευσε.
- 42 “Καὶ ὅσα μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει διώκησεν, ἥ μυρία ἂν εἴη λέγειν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐκ τε ἐκείνης ἐξῆλθε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γαλα-

¹ αὐτὸς R. Steph., αὐτὸ LM cod. Peir.² γοῦν Bk., οὖν LM cod. Peir.³ πέμψιν R. Steph., μέμψιν LM cod. Peir.

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while he was your magistrate. Yet I shall not even relate all these with scrupulous detail, for I could never get to the end of them, and I should cause you excessive weariness, particularly since you already know them. B.C. 41

“First of all, then, this man was praetor in Spain, and finding it secretly disloyal, did not allow the inhabitants under the name of peace to become unconquerable, nor was it his own choice to spend the period of his governorship in quiet instead of accomplishing what was for the advantage of the state. Hence, since they would not willingly change their course, he brought them to their senses against their will, and in doing this he surpassed the men who had previously won glory against them in just so far as keeping a thing is more difficult than acquiring it, and reducing men to a condition where they can never again become rebellious is more profitable than making them subject in the first place, while their power is still undiminished. That is the reason why you voted him a triumph for this and immediately gave him the office of consul. Indeed, from this very circumstance it became most evident that he had waged that war, not for his own pleasure or glory, but as a preparation for the future. At all events he waived the celebration of the triumph because of the business that was pressing, and after thanking you for the honour he was content with that alone for his glory, and entered upon the consulship.

“Now all his administrative acts in the city during his tenure of that office would verily be countless to name. But as soon as he had ended it and had been

- τικόν πόλεμον ἐστάλη, θεωρήσατε ὅσα αὐ καὶ
 2 ἡλίκα ἐνταῦθα κατειργάσατο. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ
 συμμάχοις οὐχ ὅπως βαρὺς ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 προσεβοήθησεν, ἐπειδὴ μήτε τι αὐτοὺς ὑπώπτεισε
 καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀδικουμένους εἶδε· τοὺς δὲ δὴ
 πολεμίους, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς προσοικοῦντας αὐτοῖς
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας τοὺς τὴν Γαλατίαν
 νέμοντας, κατεστρέψατο, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν χώραν
 παμπληθῇ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἀναριθμήτους,
 ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα πρότερον ᾔδειμεν, προσεκτέ-
 3 σατο. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα, μήτε δύναμιν
 ἀξιόχρεων μήτε¹ χρήματα αὐτάρκη παρ' ὑμῶν
 λαβών, οὕτω μὲν ταχέως κατέπραξεν ὥστε καὶ
 πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι τινὰ ὑμῶν ὅτι πολεμεῖ νενικηκέναι,
 οὕτω δὲ ἀσφαλῶς κατεστήσατο ὥστε² καὶ ἐπι-
 βατὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν καὶ τὴν
 4 Βρεττανίαν ποιῆσαι. καὶ νῦν δεδούλωται μὲν
 Γαλατία ἢ τοὺς τε Ἀμβρονας³ καὶ τοὺς Κίμβρους
 ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀποστείλασα, καὶ γεωργεῖται πᾶσα
 ὥσπερ αὐτὴ ἢ Ἰταλία, πλεῖται δὲ οὐ Ῥοδανὸς
 ἔτι μόνος οὐδ' Ἀραρίς, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μόσας καὶ
 Λίγρος καὶ Ῥῆνος αὐτὸς καὶ ὠκεανὸς αὐτός.
 5 ὧν γὰρ οὐδὲ τὰς ἐπικλήσεις ἀκούοντες ἐπιστεύο-
 μεν αὐτὰ εἶναι, ταῦθ' ἡμῖν προσκατέργασται,
 ἐμβατὰ μὲν τὰ πρὶν ἄγνωστα, πλωτὰ δὲ τὰ πρὶν
 ἀδιερεύνητα ἀπὸ τε τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας καὶ ἀπὸ
 43 τῆς μεγαλογνωμοσύνης ποιήσας. καὶ εἶγε μὴ
 φθονήσαντες αὐτῷ τινες, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑμῖν, ἐστασιά-

¹ μήτε St., μηδὲ LM cod. Peir.

² ὥστε cod. Peir., καὶ ὥστε LM.

³ Ἀμβρονας LM, ἄμβρωνας cod. Peir.

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sent to conduct this war against the Gauls, observe B.C. 44
how many and how great were his achievements there. So far from becoming a burden to our allies, he even went to their assistance, because he was not at all suspicious of them and saw, moreover, that they were being wronged. But our foes, both those who dwelt near the friendly tribes, and all the rest who inhabited Gaul, he subjugated, acquiring, on the one hand, vast stretches of territory, and on the other, numberless cities of which we knew not even the names before. All this, moreover, he accomplished so quickly, though he had received neither a competent force nor sufficient money from you, that before any of you knew that he was at war, he had conquered; and he settled affairs on so firm a basis as to make these places stepping-stones to Germany and to Britain. So now Gaul is enslaved, which sent against us the Ambrones and the Cimbri, and is all under cultivation like Italy itself; and ships sail not only the Rhone and the Arar, but the Mosa, the Liger, the very Rhine, and very ocean itself. Places of which we had not even heard the names, to lead us to think that they existed, he likewise subdued for us; the formerly unknown he made accessible, the formerly unexplored he made navigable, by the greatness of his purpose and the greatness of his resolution. And had not certain persons in their envy of him, or rather of you, begun a revolt and

κεσαν, καὶ δεῦρο αὐτὸν πρὸ τοῦ προσήκοντος καιροῦ ἐπανελθεῖν ἡναγκάκεσαν.¹ πάντως ἂν καὶ τὴν Βρεττανίαν ὄλην μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων νήσων τῶν περικειμένων² αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν πᾶσαν μέχρι τοῦ ἄρκτικοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἐκεχείρωτο, ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς ὄρους μὴ γῆν μηδ' ἀνθρώπους τὸ λοιπόν, ἀλλὰ
 2 ἀέρα καὶ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν ἔχειν. διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὁρῶντες τό τε μέγεθος τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ἐπὶ πλείστον ἄρξαι αὐτῷ προσετάξατε· ὅπερ, ἀφ' οὗ ἐδημοκρατήθημεν, οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπῆρξε, λέγω δὲ τὸ ὁκτῶ ἔτεσιν ὅλοις ἐφεξῆς ἡγεμονεῦσαι. οὕτως αὐτὸν πάντα ἐκεῖνα ὑμῖν ὄντως προσκτᾶσθαι ἐνομίσαστε, καὶ οὐδεπώποτε ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐξηθήσεσθαι ὑποπτεύσατε.

- 3 “Ἀλλὰ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐπὶ μακρότατον αὐτὸν ἐγχρονίσαι τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκείνοις ἐπεθυμήσατε· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπέτρεψαν οἱ τὴν πολιτείαν μηκέτι κοινὴν ἀλλ' ἰδίαν αὐτῶν³ νομίζοντες εἶναι σῦντε τούτῳ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκαταστρέψασθαι οὐθ' ὑμῖν πάντων αὐτῶν κυριεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀσχολίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀποχρησάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ⁴ ἀνόσια ἐτόλμησαν, ὥσθ' ὑμᾶς⁵ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ βοηθείας
 44 δεηθῆναι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καταλιπὼν τὰ προκείμενα ταχέως ὑμῖν ἐπεκούρησε, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπαρτηθέντων αὐτῇ κινδύνων ἡλευθέρωσε, καὶ προσέτι τὴν τε Ἰβηρίαν ἄλλο-

¹ ἡναγκάκεσαν Bk., ἡνάγκασαν LM.

² περικειμένων M cod. Peir., προκειμένων L.

³ αὐτῶν Reim, αὐτῶν Rk., αὐτῇ LM cod. Peir.

⁴ πολλὰ καὶ Bk., καὶ πολλὰ LM cod. Peir.

⁵ ὑμᾶς R. Steph., ἡμᾶς LM cod. Peir.

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forced him to return here before the proper time, he B. C. 44
 would certainly have subdued all Britain together
 with the other islands which surround it and all
 Germany to the Arctic Ocean, so that we should
 have had as our boundaries for the future, not land
 or people, but the air and the outer sea. For these
 reasons you also, beholding the greatness of his
 purpose, his deeds, and his good fortune, assigned
 him the right to hold office for a very long period,—
 a privilege which, from the time that we became a
 republic, no other man has enjoyed,—I mean holding
 the command during eight¹ whole years in succession.
 So fully did you believe that it was really for your
 sake he was making all these conquests and so far
 were you from ever suspecting that he would grow
 powerful to your hurt.

“Nay, you desired that he should tarry in those re-
 gions as long as possible. He was prevented, however,
 by those who regarded the government as belonging
 no longer to the public but as their own private
 property, from subjugating the remaining countries,
 and you were kept from becoming masters of them all ;
 for these men, making an evil use of the opportunity
 afforded by his being occupied, ventured upon many
 impious projects, so that you came to require his aid.
 Therefore, abandoning the victories within his grasp,
 he quickly came to your assistance, freed all Italy from
 the dangers which threatened it, and furthermore
 won back Spain, which was being estranged. Then,

¹ See xxviii. 33 and note.

- τριουμένην ἐκομίσατο, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τήν τε πατρίδα καταλιπόντα καὶ βασιλείαν ἰδίαν ἐν
 2 Μακεδονίᾳ κατασκευάζοντα, καὶ ἐκεῖσε πάντα τὰ ὑμέτερα ἀγαθὰ μεταφέροντα, τοὺς τε ὑπηκόους ὑμῶν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς συσκευαζόμενον καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν ὑμῶν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς χρώμενον ἰδὼν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πείσαι πῶς ἠθέλησε, καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ προσπέμπων, παύσασθαι¹ καὶ μεταθέσθαι, πίστεως λαβόντα μεγίστας ἢ μὴν ἐν τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις²
 3 αὐθις αὐτὸν γενήσεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδένα τρόπον ἡδυνήθη τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὴν συγγένειαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα αὐτῷ ὑπάρξασαν ὑπερβὰς ἀντιπολεμεῖν ὑμῖν εἴλετο, οὕτω δὴ καταναγκασθεὶς τοῦ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου προσάψασθαι τί μὲν δεῖ λέγειν³ ὥς εὐτόλμως ἐπ'
 4 αὐτόν, καίπερ χειμῶνος ὄντος, ἔπλευσε, τί δὲ ὥς εὐθαρσῶς αὐτῷ, καίτοι πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ χωρία⁴ ἔχοντι, συνέμιξε, τί δὲ ὥς ἀνδρικῶς αὐτοῦ, καίπερ πολὺ τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐλαττούμενος, ἐκράτησεν; ἂν γάρ τις καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐπεξελθεῖν ἐθέλῃσῃ, παῖδα ἂν ἀποδείξειε τὸν θαυμαστὸν ἐκείνου Πομπήιον· οὕτως ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς κατεστρατηγήθη.
- 45 “Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἔασω· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ Καίσαρ ἐσεμνύνατό ποτε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, μισῶν αἰεὶ τὰ⁵ τῆς ἀνάγκης· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ δαιμόνιον δικαιοτάτα τὴν μάχην ἔκρινε, τίνα μὲν τῶν τότε πρῶτον ἀλόντων ἀπέκτεινε, τίνα δὲ οὐκ ἐτίμησεν, οὐχ ὅτι

¹ παύσασθαι H Steph., παύσεσθαι LM cod. Peir.

² καὶ ὁμοίοις Rk., ὁμοίως LM cod. Peir.

³ δεῖ λέγειν R. Steph., διαλέγειν LM, δὴ λέγειν cod. Peir.

⁴ ἐκεῖ χωρία Pflugk, ἐπιχώρια LM cod. Peir.

⁵ αἰεὶ τὰ Kubler, αὐτὰ LM, αὐτὰ cod. Peir.

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when he saw that Pompey, who had abandoned his country and was setting up a kingdom of his own in Macedonia, was transferring thither all your possessions, equipping your subjects against you, and using your own money against you, he at first wished to persuade him somehow to stop and change his course, sending mediators to him both privately and publicly and offering the most solemn pledges that he should again attain an equal and like position with himself. When, however, he found himself unable in any way to effect this, but instead Pompey burst all restraints, even the relationship which had existed between himself and Caesar, and chose to fight against you, then at last he was compelled to begin the civil war. But what need is there of relating how daringly he sailed against him in spite of the winter, or how boldly he assailed him, though Pompey held all the strong positions, or how bravely he vanquished him, though much inferior in the number of his troops? Indeed, if one wished to recite the whole story in detail, he could show the renowned Pompey to have been a mere child, so completely was he outgeneralled at every point.

"But all this I will omit, since not even Caesar himself ever took any pride in it, always hating, as he did, the deeds enforced by necessity. But when Heaven had most justly decided the issue of the battle, whom of those then captured for the first time did he put to death? Whom, rather, did he

- τῶν βουλευτῶν ἢ τῶν ἱππέων ἢ καὶ ὅλως τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν τε ὑπη-
 2 κόων; οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκείνων τις οὐτ' ἀπέθανε βιαίως οὔτε αἰτίαν ἔλαβεν, οὐκ ἰδιώτης, οὐ βασι-
 λεύς, οὐκ ἔθνος, οὐ πόλις· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καὶ συν-
 εξητάσθησαν αὐτῷ, οἱ δὲ τὴν γοῦν ἄδειαν ἐντίμως
 3 ἀπολωλότων. τοσαύτη γὰρ περιουσία φιλανθρω-
 πίας ἐχρήσατο ὥστε τοὺς μὲν συναραμένους τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἐπαινέσαι καὶ πάντα σφίσι τὰ δοθέντα
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φυλάξαι, τὸν δὲ δὴ¹ Φαρνάκην καὶ τὸν Ὀρώδην μισῆσαι ὅτι οὐκ ἐπεκούρησαν φίλοι
 4 αὐτοῦ ὄντες. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό γε οὐχ ἥκιστα τῷ μὲν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐπολέμησε, τῷ δὲ ἐπιστρα-
 τεύσειν ἔμελλε. πάντως δ' ἂν καὶ . . .² ζῶντα εἰλήφει. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι μήτε εὐθύς αὐτὸν ἐπεδίωξεν ἀλλὰ κατὰ σχολὴν εἶασε φυγεῖν, καὶ
 5 τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἀηδῶς ἤκουσε, τοὺς τε φονεύ-
 σαντας αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπῆνεσεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνταπ-
 ἔκτεινεν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, καὶ αὐτόν γε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὅτι καίτοι παῖς ὢν τὸν εὐεργέτην ἀπολόμενον περιεῖδε, προσδιέφθειρε.
- 46 “ Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ὅπως μὲν τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατεστήσατο, καὶ ὅσα χρήματα ἐκείθιν ὑμῖν ἐκόμισε, περιττὸν ἂν εἴη λέγειν· στρατεύσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην οὐκ ὀλίγα ἤδη τοῦ τε Πόντου καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἔχοντα, προσηγγέλθη τε ἅμα αὐτῷ προσιὼν καὶ ὤφθη παρὼν καὶ συνέβαλεν
 2 αὐθημερόν καὶ ἐνίκησεν. ἀφ' ὧνπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα διέδειξεν ὅτι οὐδὲν χείρων ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ

¹ δὴ cod. Peir, om. LM.² Lacuna recognized by Xyl.

BOOK XLIV

not honour, not alone of the senators or knights or B.C. 44
of the citizens in general, but even of the allies
and subjects? For no one, even of them, either died
a violent death, or was censured,—no civilian, no
king, no tribe, no city. On the contrary, some arrayed
themselves on his side, and others obtained at least
pardon with honour, so that all then lamented the
fate of those who had perished. Such exceeding
humanity did he show, that he praised those who
had cooperated with Pompey and allowed them to
keep everything that Pompey had given them, but
hated Pharnaces and Orodes, because, though friends
of the vanquished, they had not assisted him. It
was chiefly for this reason that he not long after-
ward waged war on Pharnaces and was preparing to
conduct a campaign against Orodes. And he certainly
[would have spared] even [Pompey himself if] he
had captured him alive. A proof of this is that
he did not pursue him at once, but allowed him to
flee at his leisure. Also he was grieved when he heard
of Pompey's death and did not praise his murderers,
but put them to death for it soon after, and moreover
even destroyed Ptolemy himself, because, though a
child, he had allowed his benefactor to perish.

“How after this he brought Egypt to terms
and how much money he conveyed to you from
there, it would be superfluous to relate. And when
he made his campaign against Pharnaces, who already
held a considerable part of Pontus and Armenia,
he was on one and the same day reported to the
king as approaching him, was seen confronting
him, engaged him in conflict, and conquered him.
This better than anything else showed that he had
not become weaker in Alexandria and had not

- ἐγένετο, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τρυφῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνεχρόνισε·
 πῶς γὰρ ἂν ῥαδίως ἐκεῖνα ἔπραξε μὴ πολλῇ μὲν
 παρασκευῇ διανοίας πολλῇ δὲ καὶ ῥώμῃ χρώμενος;
 3 ὥς δ' οὖν καὶ ὁ Φαρνάκης ἔφυγε, παρεσκευάζετο
 μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Πάρθον στρατεῦσαι, στασια-
 σάντων δὲ αὖθις ἐνταῦθά τινων ἀνεκομίσθη τε
 ἄκων, καὶ οὕτως αὖ καὶ ταῦτα διέθετο ὥστε
 4 μὴδ' ὅτι ἀρχὴν ἐταράχθη πιστευθῆναι. οὔτε γὰρ
 ἀπέθανεν οὔτε ἔφυγεν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἠτιμώθη τὸ
 παράπαν ἐξ ἐκείνων τῶν πραγμάτων οὐδεὶς, οὐχ
 ὅτι οὐ δικαιοτάτα ἂν πολλοὶ ἐκολάσθησαν, ἀλλ'
 ὅτι τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ἀφειδῶς ἀπολλύναι τοὺς
 5 ἡγεῖτο δεῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῇ μὲν ἀνδρείᾳ τοὺς
 ἀλλοφύλους κατηγωνίζετο, τῇ δὲ φιλανθρωπίᾳ
 καὶ τοὺς στασιάζοντας τῶν πολιτῶν, καίτοι καὶ
 ἀναξίους πολλάκις τούτου γεγονότας ἀφ' ὧν
 ἔπραττον, διετῆρει. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ
 Ἀφρικῇ τῇ τε Ἰβηρίᾳ αὖθις ἔπραξε, πάντως
 ὅσοι μὴ καὶ πρότερόν ποτε ἁλόντες ὑπ' ¹ αὐτοῦ
 6 ἡλέηντο ² ἀφείς. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς πολλάκις
 ἐπιβουλεύοντάς οἱ αἰεὶ περιποιεῖσθαι μωρίαν, οὐ
 φιλανθρωπίαν ἐνόμιζε· τὸ δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις
 ἁμαρτήμασι συγγιγνώσκειν τισί, καὶ μῆτ' ἀκατ-
 ἄλλακτον ὀργὴν ἔχειν καὶ προσέτι καὶ τιμὰς
 νέμειν, ἂν δὲ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐμμένωσιν, ἀπαλλαγὴν
 αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ πάνυ ἀνδρὸς ἔργον ἡγεῖτο
 7 εἶναι. καίτοι τί τοῦτο εἶπον; πολλοὺς γὰρ τοι
 καὶ ἐκείνων ἔσωσε, δοὺς τοῖς τε ἐταίροις ἅπασιν
 καὶ τοῖς συννικήσασιν αὐτῷ ἓνα ἐκάστῳ τῶν
 ἁλόντων περιποιήσασθαι.

¹ ὅπ' R. Steph., ἐπ' LM cod. Peir.

² ἡλέηντο cod. Peir., ἐλέηντο LM.

BOOK XLIV

delayed there out of voluptuousness. For how could he have won that victory so easily without having great mental vigour in reserve and great physical strength? When now Pharnaces had fled, he was preparing to conduct a campaign at once against the Parthian, but as certain men had begun a strife here he returned reluctantly and settled this dispute, too, so well that no one would believe there had been any disturbance at all. For not a person was killed or exiled or even disgraced in any way as a result of that trouble, not because many might not justly have been punished, but because he thought it right while destroying the enemy unsparingly to preserve the citizens, even if some of them are of little account. Therefore by his bravery he overcame foreigners in war, but by his humanity he kept unharmed even the seditious citizens, although many of them by their acts had often shown themselves unworthy of this favour. This same policy he followed again both in Africa and in Spain, releasing all who had not previously been captured and been pitied by him. For while he considered it folly, not humanity, always to spare the lives of those who frequently plotted against him, on the other hand, he thought it the duty of one who was truly a man to pardon opponents on the occasion of their first errors instead of harbouring implacable anger, yes, and even to assign honours to them, but if they clung to their original course, to get rid of them. Yet why do I relate this? Many of these also he spared by allowing all his associates and those who had helped him conquer to save the life of one captive each.

B.C. 44

- 47 “Καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἀπ’ ἐμφύτου χρηστότητος, καὶ οὔτε προσποιητῶς οὔτε ἐπὶ κατασκευῇ πλεονεξίας τινός, ὥσπερ ἕτεροι συχνοὶ ἐφίλανθρωπεύσαντό τινα, ἔπραξε, μέγιστον μὲν καὶ ἐκείνο μαρτύριόν ἐστιν, ὅτι πανταχοῦ καὶ διὰ πάντων ὁμοίος ἐγένετο καὶ οὔτ’ ὀργή τις αὐτὸν ἠγρίανεν οὔτε εὐπραγία διέφθειρεν, οὐ τὸ κράτος 2 ἡλλοίωσεν, οὐχ ἢ ἐξουσία μετέβαλεν. καίτοι χαλεπώτατον ἐν τοῖς¹ τοσούτοις καὶ τοιούτοις καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπαλλήλοις πράγμασιν ἐξετασθέντα, καὶ τὰ μὲν κατωρθώκοτα τὰ δὲ ἐν χερσὶν ἔτ’ ἔχοντα τὰ δ’ ὑποπτεύοντα, χρηστὸν τε² αἰεὶ δι’ ἴσου γενέσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν τραχὺ μηδὲ δεινόν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρὸς τιμωρίαν τῶν παρεληλυθότων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς γε³ φυλακὴν τῶν μελλόντων ἐβελήσαι ποιῆσαι. 3 ἱκανὰ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα τὴν χρηστότητα αὐτοῦ τεκμηριώσαι ἐστιν· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν ὄντως ἔφυ ὥστε ἐν μόνον ἠπίστατο, σώζειν τοὺς γε σώζεσθαι δυναμένους· προσέτι δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα,⁴ ὅτι τοῖς τε αὐτῷ⁵ πολεμήσασιν τὸ μηδ’ ὑπ’ ἄλλου τινὸς κολασθῆναι παρεσκεύασε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πρὶν ἑπτὰ- 4 κότας ἀνεκτήσατο. πᾶσι μὲν γὰρ τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Λεπίδου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Σερτωρίου γενομένοις ἄδειαν δοθῆναι ἐποίησε, πᾶσι δὲ ἐκ τούτου τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐπικηρυχθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου περιλειφθεῖσι τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑπάρξαι παρεσκεύασε, καὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τοῦτο κατήγαγε, τοὺς τε παῖδας ἀπάντων τῶν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου θανατωθέντων καὶ τιμῶν καὶ 5 ἀρχῶν ἠξίωσεν. καὶ⁶ τὸ μέγιστον, πάντα ἀπλῶς

¹ ἐν τοῖς R. Steph., ἐς τοῖς LM.² χρηστὸν τε M, χρηστότε L ³ γε R. Steph., τε LM.⁴ ἐκεῖνα LM, ἐκείνο cod. Peir. ⁵ αὐτῷ LM, ἐαυτῷ cod. Peir.⁶ καὶ Bk., καὶ τοι LM cod. Peir.

BOOK XLIV

“That he did all this, moreover, from inherent B.C. 44
goodness and not for appearances or to reap any advantage, as many others have displayed humane-ness, there is this further very strong evidence, that everywhere and in all circumstances he showed himself the same: anger did not brutalize him, nor good fortune corrupt him; power did not alter, nor authority change him. Yet it is very difficult when tested in so many enterprises of such magnitude, in enterprises, moreover, that follow one another in rapid succession, when one has been successful in some, is still engaged in conducting others, and only surmises that others are yet to come, to prove equally good on all occasions and to refrain from wishing to do anything harsh or terrible, if not out of vengeance for the past, at least as a measure of safeguard for the future. This alone is enough to prove his goodness; for he was so truly a scion of gods that he understood but one thing, to save those who could be saved. But there is also this further evidence, that he took care not to have those who warred against him punished even by anyone else, and that he won back those who had met with misfortune earlier. For he caused amnesty to be granted to all who had been followers of Lepidus and Sertorius, and next arranged that safety should be afforded to all the survivors of those whom Sulla had proscribed; somewhat later he brought them home from exile and bestowed honours and offices upon the sons of all who had been slain by Sulla. Greatest of all, he burned absolutely all the secret

τὰ γράμματα ὅσα ἢ παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἢ παρὰ τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἀπόρρητα εὐρέθη κατέκαυσε, μήτ' ἀναγνοῦς τι αὐτῶν μήτε τηρήσας, ἵνα μῆδ' ¹ ἄλλω τινὶ πονηρευθῇναί τι δι' αὐτὰ ἐγγένηται. ὅτι δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως οὐκ εἶπε μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔπραξε, δηλοῖ τὰ ἔργα· οὐδείς γοῦν ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐκείνων οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἔπαθέ τι δεινόν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ² 6 ἐφοβήθη. οὐκ οὐδ' ² οἶδεν οὐδείς τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν περιγενομένους ³ πλὴν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι παραδοξότατον καὶ μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ἔχον, ὅτι τε ἀφείθησαν πρὶν αἰτιαθῆναι καὶ ὅτι ἐσώθησαν πρὶν κινδυνεύσαι, καὶ οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ περιποιήσας σφᾶς ἔμαθεν οὐς ἡλέησε.

48. “Καὶ γάρ τοι διὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐνομοθέτησε καὶ ἐπηνώρθωσε, ⁴ μεγάλα μὲν αὐτὰ καθ' ἑαυτὰ ὄντα, παρὰ μικρὸν δ' ἂν πρὸς ἐκείνα νομισθέντα, ἃ οὐ χρὴ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξιέναι, καὶ ἐφιλήσατε αὐτὸν ὡς πατέρα καὶ ἡγαπήσατε ὡς εὐεργέτην, τιμαῖς τε οἷαις οὐδένα ἄλλον ἡγήλατε, 2 καὶ προστάτην διατελῇ τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπάσης ἔχειν ἐπεθυμήσατε, μὴδὲν περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων διενεχθέντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ ἐλάττονα αὐτοῦ προσθέντες, ἵν' ὅσον καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ νομιζομένου πρὸς τὸ τελειότατον καὶ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐνέδει, τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συντελείας ἀντανα- 3 πληρωθῇ. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἀρχιερεὺς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, ὑπάτος δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ

¹ μῆδ' Bk., μήτ' LM cod. Peir.

² οὐδ' St., οὐτ' LM cod. Peir.

³ περιγενομένους Leuncl., περὶ γένους LM cod. Peir.

⁴ ἐνομοθέτησε καὶ ἐπηνώρθωσε cod Peir., ἐνομοθέτησεν ἐπηνώρθωσε LM.

BOOK XLIV

documents found in the tent of either Pompey or Scipio, neither reading nor yet keeping any of them, in order that no one else any more than he himself should use them for mischievous ends. And that this was not only what he said he had done, but what he actually did, the facts show clearly; at any rate, no one as a result of those letters was even frightened, much less suffered any harm. Hence no one even knows those who escaped this danger except the men themselves. This is a most astonishing fact and one without a parallel, that they were spared before they were accused and saved before they encountered danger, and that not even he who saved their lives learned who it was he pitied.

“For these and for all his other acts of legislation and reconstruction, great in themselves, but likely to be deemed small in comparison with those others which I need not recount in detail, you loved him as a father and cherished him as a benefactor, you exalted him with such honours as you bestowed on no one else and desired him to be continual head of the city and of the whole domain. You did not quarrel at all about titles, but applied them all to him, feeling that they were inadequate to his merits, and desiring that whatever each of them, in the light of customary usage, lacked of being a complete expression of honour and authority might be supplied by what the rest contributed. Therefore, for the gods he was appointed high priest,

πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, δικτάτωρ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπεδείχθη. καὶ τί ταύτ' ἐξαριθμοῦμαι, ὅποτε καὶ πατέρα αὐτὸν ἐνὶ λόγῳ¹ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπεκαλέσατε;² ἵνα μὴ τὰς ἄλλας αὐτοῦ προσηγορίας καταλέγω.

- 49 “Ἄλλ' οὗτος ὁ πατήρ, οὗτος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ ἄσυλος ὁ ἥρως ὁ θεὸς τέθνηκεν, οἴμοι, τέθνηκεν οὐ νόσφ' βιασθεῖς, οὐδὲ γήρα μαρανθεῖς, οὐδὲ ἔξω που ἐν πολέμῳ τινὶ τρωθεῖς, οὐδὲ ἐκ δαιμονίου τινὸς αὐτομάτως ἀρπασθεῖς,³ ἀλλὰ ἐνταῦθα ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἐπιβουλευθεῖς ὁ καὶ ἐς Βρεττανίαν
- 2 ἀσφαλῶς στρατεύσας, ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐνεδρευθεῖς ὁ καὶ τὸ πωμήριον αὐτῆς ἐπαυξήσας, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κατασφαγεῖς ὁ καὶ ἴδιον ἄλλο κατασκευάσας, ἄοπλος ὁ εὐπόλεμος, γυμνὸς ὁ εἰρηνοποιός, πρὸς τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ὁ δικαστής, πρὸς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὁ ἄρχων, ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ὃν μηδεὶς τῶν πολεμίων μηδ' ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκπεσόντα ἀποκτεῖναι ἠδυνήθη, οὐπὸ τῶν ἐταίρων ὁ πολλάκις αὐτοὺς ἐλεήσας.
- 3 ποῦ δὴτά σοι, Καῖσαρ, ἡ φιλανθρωπία, ποῦ δὲ ἡ ἀσυλία, ποῦ δὲ οἱ νόμοι; ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν, ὅπως μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τις φονεῖται, πολλὰ ἐνομοθέτησας, σὲ δὲ οὕτως οἰκτρῶς ἀπέκτειναν οἱ φίλοι, καὶ νῦν ἔν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ πρόκεισαι ἐσφαγμένος, δι' ἧς πολλάκις ἐπόμεψας ἐστεφανωμένος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔρριψαι κατατετρω-
- 4 μένος, ἀφ' οὗ πολλάκις ἐδημηγόρησας. οἴμοι πολιτῶν ἡματωμένων, ὧ στολῆς ἐσπαραγμένης, ἣν

¹ ἐνὶ λόγῳ Rk., ἐν λόγιῳ LM.

² ἐπεκαλέσατε M., ἐπεκαλέσατο L.

³ ἀρπασθεις Reim. (so Zon. BC^o), ἀρπαχθεις LM Zon. AD.

BOOK XLIV

for us consul, for the soldiers unperator, and for the enemy dictator. But why do I enumerate these details, when in one phrase you called him father of his country—not to mention the rest of his titles ? B C 44

“Yet this father, this high priest, this inviolable being, this hero and god, is dead, alas, dead not by the violence of some disease, nor wasted by old age, nor wounded abroad somewhere in some war, nor caught up inexplicably by some supernatural force, but right here within the walls as the result of a plot—the man who had safely led an army into Britain ; ambushed in this city—the man who had enlarged its pomerium ; murdered in the senate-house—the man who had reared another such edifice at his own expense ; unarmed—the brave warrior ; defenceless—the promoter of peace ; the judge—beside the court of justice ; the magistrate—beside the seat of government ; at the hands of the citizens—he whom none of the enemy had been able to kill even when he fell into the sea ; at the hands of his comrades—he who had often taken pity on them. Of what avail, O Caesar, was your humanity, of what avail your inviolability, of what avail the laws ? Nay, though you enacted many laws that men might not be killed by their personal foes, yet how mercilessly you yourself were slain by your friends ! And now, the victim of assassination, you lie dead in the Forum through which you often led the triumph crowned ; wounded to death, you have been cast down upon the rostra from which you often addressed the people. Woe for the blood-bespattered locks of gray, alas for the

ἐπὶ τούτῳ μόνον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔλαβες, ἵν' ἐν ταύτῃ σφαγῇς."

- 50 Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου λέγοντος ὁ δῆμος τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἠρεθίζετο, ἔπειτα δὲ ὠργίζετο, καὶ τέλος οὕτως ἐφλέγμηνεν ὥστε τοὺς τε¹ φονέας αὐτοῦ ζητεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βουλευταῖς ἐγκαλεῖν, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἀπέκτειναν οἱ δὲ ἐπείδον ἀποθνήσκοντα ἄνδρα ὑπὲρ οὗ δημοσίᾳ κατ' ἔτος εὐχεσθαι ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ οὗ τήν τε ὑγίειαν τήν τε τύχην ὤμνυσαν, καὶ ὃν ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς δημάρχοις ἄσυλον² ἐπεποιήκεσαν. καὶ τοῦτου τό τε σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἀρπάσαντες οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἐν ᾧ ἀπέσφακτο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον κομίσαι τε ἐβούλοντο καὶ ἐκεῖ καῦσαι, κωλυθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν φόβῳ τοῦ μὴ καὶ τὸ θέατρον τοὺς τε ναοὺς συγκαταπρησθῆναι, αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ὥσπερ³ εἶχον,² ἐπὶ πυρὰν ἐπέθηκαν. πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ ὡς τῶν πέριξ οἰκοδομημάτων ἐφθάρη, εἰ μὴ οἱ τε στρατιῶται ἐμποδῶν ἐγένοντο καὶ τινες τῶν θρασυτέρων οἱ ὑπατοὶ κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου πετρῶν ἔωσαν.³ οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπαύσαντο διὰ⁴ τοῦτο οἱ λοιποὶ ταραττόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τε τὰς οἰκίας τῶν σφαγέων ὥρμησαν, καὶ ἄλλους τε ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Εἰλούιον Κίνναν δημαρχοῦντα μάτην ἀπέκτειναν· οὐ γὰρ ὅπως ἐπεβούλευσε τῷ Καίσαρι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἠγάπα. ἐπλανήθησαν δὲ ὅτι Κορνήλιος Κίννας ὁ στρατηγὸς συμμετέσχε τῆς ἐπιθέσεως. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπειπόντων τῶν ὑπάτων μηδένα ἔξω τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔνοπλον εἶναι, τῶν μὲν φόνων ἀπέ-

¹ τε Bk., μὲν LM.

² εἶχον Xyl., εἶπον LM.

³ ἔωσαν Dind., ὥσαν L, ᾤσαν M.

BOOK XLIV

rent robe, which you assumed, it seems, only that you might be slain in it !” B.C. 44

At this deliverance of Antony's the throng was at first excited, then enraged, and finally so inflamed with passion that they sought his murderers and reproached the other senators, because while the others had slain they had looked on at the death of a man on whose behalf they had voted to offer public prayers each year, by whose Health and Fortune they had sworn their oaths, whose person they had made as inviolable as the tribunes. Then, seizing his body, some wished to convey it to the room in which he had been slaughtered, and others to the Capitol, and to burn it there ; but being prevented by the soldiers, who feared that the theatre and temples would be burned to the ground at the same time, they placed it upon a pyre there in the Forum, without further ado. Even so, many of the surrounding buildings would have been destroyed had not the soldiers prevented and had not the consuls thrust some of the bolder ones over the cliffs of the Capitoline. For all that, the rest did not cease their disturbance, but rushed to the houses of the assassins, and during the excitement killed, among others, Helvius Cinna, a tribune, without just cause ; for this man had not only not plotted against Caesar, but was one of his most devoted friends. Their mistake was due to the fact that Cornelius Cinna, the praetor, had taken part in the attack. After this, when the consuls forbade any one except the soldiers to carry arms, they

- σχοντο, βωμόν δέ τινα ἐν τῷ τῆς πυρᾶς χωρίῳ ἰδρυσάμενοι (τὰ γὰρ ὅσα¹ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἐξελευθεροὶ προανείλουντο καὶ ἐς τὸ πατρῶον μνημεῖον κατέβεντο) θύειν τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ κατάρχεσθαι τῷ
- 2 Καίσαρι ὡς καὶ θεῷ ἐπεχειρουν. οἱ οὖν ὑπατοὶ ἐκείνόν τε ἀνέτρεψαν, καὶ τινὰς ἀγανακτήσαντας ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκόλασαν, καὶ νόμον ἐξέθηκαν² μηδένα αὐθις δικτάτορα γενέσθαι, ἀράς τε ποιησάμενοι καὶ θάνατον προειπόντες ἂν τέ³ τις ἐσηγήσῃται τοῦτο ἂν θ' ὑποστῇ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήματα
- 3 αὐτοῖς ἀντικρὺς ἐπικηρύξαντες. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα προείδοντο,⁴ ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι τῆς τῶν ἔργων δεινότητος οὔσης, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ὀπλων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκάστου τρόπων καὶ γιγνομένων αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς τῆς ἐξουσίας, ἐν ᾗ ποτ' ἂν
- 4 τύχῃ δρώμενα, προσήρσεις⁵ διαβαλλόντων· ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε παρόντι τοὺς τε κληρούχους τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος προκεχειρισμένους ἐς τὰς ἀποικίας εὐθύς, μὴ καὶ νεοχμώσωσί τι, ἔστειλαν, καὶ τῶν σφαγέων τοὺς μὲν ἄρξαι τινῶν εἰληχότας ἐς τὰ ἔθνη, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἄλλον ἄλλοσε ἐπὶ προφάσει τινὶ ἐξέπεμψαν· καὶ αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ εὐεργέτας σφῶν πολλοὶ ἐτίμησαν.
- 52 Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Καίσαρ μετήλλαξε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔν τε τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου οἰκοδομῆματι καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἀνδριάντι αὐτοῦ τῷ τότε ἐκεῖ ἐστῶτι ἐσφάγη, ἔδοξέ τινα τιμωρίαν αὐτῷ δεδωκέναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ⁶ ὅτι καὶ βρονταὶ ἄπλετοι καὶ ὑετὸς λάβρος

¹ ὅσα supplied by Leuncl.² ἐξέθηκαν Bk., ἐπέθηκαν LM.³ τε supplied by Rk.⁴ προείδοντο Bk., προΐδοντες LM.⁵ προσήρσεις Xiph., προσήρσει LM.⁶ καὶ added by Bk.

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refrained from bloodshed, but set up an altar on the site of the pyre (for the freedmen of Caesar had previously taken up his bones and deposited them in the family tomb), and undertook to sacrifice upon it and to offer victims to Caesar, as to a god. But the consuls overthrew this altar and punished some who showed displeasure at the act, at the same time publishing a law that no one should ever again be dictator and invoking curses and proclaiming death as the penalty upon any man who should propose or support such a measure, besides openly setting a price upon the heads of any such. This provision they made for the future, assuming that the shamefulness of men's deeds consists in the titles they bear, whereas these deeds really arise from their possession of armed forces and from the character of the individual incumbent of the office, and disgrace the titles of authority under which they chance to occur; but for the time being they sent out immediately to the colonies such as held allotments of land already assigned by Caesar, out of fear that they might begin an uprising, while of the assassins they sent out those who had obtained governorships to the provinces, and the rest to various places on one pretext or another; and these men were honoured by many as their benefactors.

In this way Caesar met his end. And inasmuch as he had been slain in Pompey's edifice and near his statue which at that time stood there, he seemed in a way to have afforded his rival his revenge, especially as tremendous thunder and a furious rain

- ἐπεγένετο. ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκείνῳ
καὶ τοιούτῳ τι οὐκ ἀπάξιον μνήμης συνηνέχθη.
- 2 Γάιος γάρ τις Κάσκας δημαρχῶν, καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι ὁ
Κίννας ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν ὁμωνυμίας
ἀπώλετο, ἐφοβήθη μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθάνῃ, ὅτι
Πούπλιος Σερουίλιος Κάσκας ἐκ τε τῶν δημάρχων
- 3 καὶ ἐκ τῶν σφαγέων ἦν, καὶ γράμματα ἐξ-
έθηκε τὴν τε κοινωνίαν σφῶν ἐκ τῆς μιᾶς προσ-
ηγορίας καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν τῆς γνώμης δηλῶν.
καὶ ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέτερος δεινὸν οὐδέν (καὶ γὰρ ὁ
Σερουίλιος ἰσχυρῶς ἐφυλάσσετο), λόγον δὲ δὴ
τινα ὁ Γάιος, ὥστε καὶ μνημονεύεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο,
ἔσχευ.
- 53 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πρὸς τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ πρὸς
τῶν ὑπάτων ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ὁ
Ἀντώνιος, καίτοι μὴ βουλευθεὶς¹ τὰ πρῶτα ἐς τὴν
ἀρχὴν ὡς οὐδέπω καθήκουσάν οἱ προσλαβεῖν,
- 2 ὁμῶς προσέθετο, δείσας μὴ στασιάσῃ. ὡς μέντοι
ὁ τε θόρυβος κατέστη καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντώνιος τό τε
ἐξετάσαι τὰ διοικηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ
τὸ² πάντα τὰ δόξαντα αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι ἐπετράπη,
οὐκέτ' ἐσωφρόνησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐγκρα-
τὴς τῶν γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, πολλὰ μὲν
ἀπῆλειψε πολλὰ δὲ καὶ³ ἀντενέγραψεν, ἄλλα τε
- 3 καὶ νόμους. καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἀρχὰς
τὰς μὲν ἀφείλετό τινων τὰς δὲ ἔδωκεν ἄλλοις, ὡς
καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου δὴ γραμμάτων⁴ αὐτὰ ποιῶν.
καὶ τούτου συχνὰ μὲν αὐτόθεν ἤρπασε, συχνὰ δὲ
καὶ παρ' ἰδιωτῶν τῶν τε⁵ δήμων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων

¹ μὴ βουλευθεὶς Xyl., μὴ φοβηθεὶς LM.² τὸ R. Steph., ὅτι LM.³ καὶ cod. Peir., om. LM.⁴ δὴ γραμμάτων Bk., διαγραμματῶν LM cod. Peir.⁵ τε M cod. Peir., τότε L

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followed. In the midst of that excitement there also took place the following incident, not unworthy of mention. One Gaius Casca, a tribune, seeing that Cinna had perished as a result of his cognomen being the same as the praetor's, and fearing that he too might be killed, because Publius Servilius Casca was one of the tribunes and also one of the assassins, issued a statement which showed that they had in common only the single name and pointed out the difference in their sentiments. Neither of them suffered any harm, as Servilius was strongly guarded; but Gaius gained some notoriety, so that he is remembered for this act. BC 44

These were the actions of the consuls and of the others at that time. I say consuls, for Antony, fearing that Dolabella would head a revolt, took him as his colleague in the consulship, although he was at first not disposed to do so, on the ground that the office did not yet belong to him. When, however, the excitement subsided, and Antony himself was charged with the duty of investigating the acts of Caesar's administration and carrying out all his behests, he no longer acted with moderation, but as soon as he had got hold of the dead man's papers, made many erasures and many substitutions, inserting laws as well as other matters. Moreover, he deprived some of money and offices, which in turn he gave to others, pretending that in doing so he was carrying out Caesar's directions. Next he seized large sums of money there in Rome, and collected large sums also from private persons, communities,

- ἡργυρολόγησε, τοῖς μὲν χώραν, τοῖς δὲ ἐλευθερίαν,
 4 ἄλλοις πολιτείαν, ἄλλοις ἀτέλειαν πωλῶν, καίτοι
 τῆς βουλῆς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ψηφισαμένης μηδεμίαν
 στήλην ὡς καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος συγγεγραφότος τι
 ἀνατεθῆναι (ἐς γὰρ στήλας χαλκᾶς πάντα τὰ
 τοιαῦτα ἐσεγράφετο), ἔπειτα δέ, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἐνέ-
 κειτο λέγων πολλὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προ-
 βεβουλευσθαι, κελυσσάσης πάντα τοὺς πρώτους
 5 κοινῇ αὐτὰ διακρίναι. ἀλλ' οὔτε τι τούτων ἐφρόν-
 τισε, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν τοῦ μὲν¹ Ὀκταουρίου ἄτε καὶ
 μεираκίου καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπείρου, τὴν τε κλη-
 ρονομίαν ὡς καὶ² χαλεπὴν καὶ δυσμεταχειρίστον
 οὖσαν ἀπωθουμένου, κατεφρόνησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς
 καὶ κληρονόμος οὐ μόνον τῆς οὐσίας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς
 δυναστείας τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὦν πάντα διεχειρίζε-
 τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ φυγάδας τινὰς κατήγαγεν.
 6 ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Λέπιδος ἰσχύν τε μεγάλην εἶχε καὶ
 φόβον αὐτῷ πολὺν ἐπήρτα, τὴν τε θυγατέρα τῷ
 υἱεὶ αὐτοῦ συνώκισε καὶ ἀρχιερέα αὐτὸν ἄπο-
 δειχθῆναι παρεσκεύασεν, ἵνα μηδὲν ὦν ἔπραττε
 7 πολυπραγμονοίη. ὅπως γὰρ δὴ ῥαδίως αὐτὸ
 ποιήσῃ, ἐς τε τοὺς ἱερέας αὐθις ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου
 τὴν αἵρεσιν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐπανήγαγε, κὰν τούτοις
 αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἢ ὀλίγα τῶν νενομισμένων πράξας
 ἐτέλεσε, δυνηθεὶς ἂν αὐτὸς ἱερώσασθαι.

¹ μὲν supplied by Bk.² καὶ M, om. L.

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and kings, selling to some land, to others freedom, to others citizenship, to others exemption from taxes. And this was in spite of the fact that the senate had voted at first that no tablet should be set up on account of any law alleged to have been framed by Caesar (all such matters were inscribed upon bronze tablets), and that later, when he persisted, declaring that many urgent matters had been provided for by Caesar, it had ordered that all the foremost citizens should jointly determine them. Antony, however, paid no attention to them, and, in a word, despised Octavius, who, as a stripling and inexperienced in business, had declined the inheritance because it was troublesome and hard to manage; and thus he himself, claiming to be the heir not only of the property but also of the power of Caesar, managed everything. One of his acts was to restore some exiles. And since Lepidus had great power and was causing him considerable fear, he gave his daughter in marriage to this leader's son and made arrangements to have Lepidus himself appointed high priest, so as to prevent his meddling with what he himself was doing. In fact, in order to carry out this plan with ease, he transferred the election of the high priest from the people back to the priests, and in company with the latter he consecrated him, performing few or none of the accustomed rites; and yet he might have secured the priesthood for himself.

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BOOK XLV

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

- α. Περὶ Γαίου Ὀκταυίου τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα Αὐγούστου ἐπι-
κληθέντος.
- β. Περὶ Σέξτου Πομπηίου τοῦ Πομπηίου υἱέος.
- γ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος στασιάζειν ἤρξαντο.
- δ. Ὡς Κικέρων κατὰ Ἀντωνίου ἐδημηγόρησεν.

Χρόνου πληθὺς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γ.¹ Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος δικτατορίας
τὸ εἶ μετὰ Μ. Αἰμιλίου² Λεπίδου ἱππάρχου καὶ ὑπατείας τὸ εἶ μετὰ
Μ. Ἀντωνίου²

Ἀντώνιος μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίει, ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάιος ὁ
Ὀκταύιος Καίσιος (οὕτω γὰρ ὁ τῆς Ἀττίας τῆς
τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδελφιδῆς³ υἱὸς ὠνομάζετο) ἦν μὲν
ἐξ Οὐελιτρῶν τῶν Οὐολσκίδων, ὀρφανὸς δὲ ὑπὸ
τοῦ Ὀκταυίου τοῦ πατρὸς καταλειφθεὶς ἐτρέφη
μὲν παρὰ τε τῇ μητρὶ καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἀνδρὶ⁴ αὐτῆς
Λουκίῳ Φιλίππῳ, αὐξηθεὶς δὲ συνδιέτριβε τῷ
² Καίσαρι· ἀπαιεῖ τε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὦν καὶ μεγάλας
ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐλπίδας ἔχων ἡγάπα τε καὶ περιεΐπεν
αὐτόν, ὥς καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῆς
τε μοναρχίας διάδοχον καταλείψων, ἄλλως τε καὶ

¹ τῆς Γ. Bs., ἔτη γ LM

² μετὰ Μ. Ἀντωνίου H. Steph., μ' μετὰ Ἀντωνίου LM. There follows in LM the gloss: πατὴρ αὐγούστου ὀκταύιος μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Ἀττία ἡ ἀδελφὴ καίσαρος ὥς εἶναι τὸν αὐγούστου ἀνεψιὸν

BOOK XLV

The following is contained in the Forty-fifth of Dio's *Rome*:—

About Gaius Octavius, who afterward was named Augustus (chaps. 1-9).

About Sextus, the son of Pompey (chap. 10).

How Caesar and Antony began to quarrel (chaps. 11-17)

How Cicero delivered a public speech against Antony (chaps. 18-47).

B. C.

- 44 Duration of time, the remainder of the fifth dictatorship of C. Julius Caesar, with M. Aemilius Lepidus as his master of the horse, and of his fifth consulship with Marcus Antonius.

So much for Antony's conduct. Now Gaius Octavius Caepias, as the son of Caesar's niece, Attia, was named, came from Velitrae in the Volscian country; after being bereft of his father Octavius he was brought up in the house of his mother and her husband, Lucius Philippus, but on attaining maturity lived with Caesar. For Caesar, being childless and basing great hopes upon him, loved and cherished him, intending to leave him as successor to his name, authority, and sovereignty. He was

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Ιουλίου καίσαρος ("the father of Augustus was Octavius, his mother was Attia, sister of Caesar, so that Augustus was nephew of Julius Caesar").

³ ἀδελφιδῆς Xyl., ἀδελφῆς LM Xiph. Zon.

⁴ ἀνδρὶ Xyl., ἀδελφῷ LM Xyl.

- ὅτι ἡ Ἀττία δεινῶς ἰσχυρίζετο ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτὸν κεκυηκέναι, ὅτι καταδαρθοῦσά ποτε ἐν ναῷ αὐτοῦ δράκοντί τινι μίγνυσθαι ἐνόμισε καὶ διὰ
- 3 τοῦτο τῷ ἰκνουμένῳ χρόνῳ ἔτεκε. πρὶν τε ἢ ἐς τὸ φῶς ἐξιέναι, ἔδοξεν ὄναρ τὰ σπλάγχχνα ἐαυτῆς ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναφέρεισθαι καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐπεκτείνεσθαι· καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ καὶ ὁ Ὀκτάουιος ἐκ τοῦ αἰδοίου αὐτῆς τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλειν ἐνόμισεν. ἄρτι τε ὁ παῖς ἐγεγέννητο, καὶ Νιγίδιος Φίγουλος¹ βουλευτῆς παραχρῆμα αὐτῷ τὴν
- 4 αὐταρχίαν ἐμαντεύσατο· ἄριστα γὰρ τῶν² καθ' ἐαυτὸν τὴν τε τοῦ πόλου διακόσμησιν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων διαφοράς, ὅσα τε καθ' ἐαυτοὺς γιγνόμενοι καὶ ὅσα συμμιγνύντες ἀλλήλοις ἐν τε ταῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς διαστάσεσιν ἀποτελοῦσι, διέγνω, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ αἰτίαν ὥς τινας ἀπορ-
- 5 ρήτους διατριβάς ποιούμενος ἔσχεν. οὗτος οὖν τότε τὸν Ὀκτάουιον βραδύτερον ἐς τὸ συνέδριον διὰ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς τόκον (ἔτυχε γὰρ βουλὴ οὖσα) ἀπαντήσαντα ἀνήρετο διὰ τί ἐβράδυνε, καὶ μαθὼν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνεβόησεν ὅτι “δεσπότην ἡμῶν ἐγέννησας,” καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκταραχθέντα ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ διαφθεῖραι τὸ παιδίον ἐβελήσαντα ἐπέσχευ, εἰπὼν ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τοιοῦτό τι αὐτὸ παθεῖν. τότε
- 2 μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐλέχθη, τρεφομένου δὲ ἐν ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ ἀετὸς ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ἐξαρπάσας ἄρτον ἐμετεωρίσθη καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καταπτόμενος ἀπέδωκεν αὐτόν. παιδίσκου τε αὐτοῦ ὄντος καὶ
- 2 τὴν διατριβὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ποιουμένου, ἔδοξέ ποτε ὁ Κικέρων ὄναρ ἀλύσεσί τε αὐτὸν χρυσαῖς

¹ Φίγουλος R. Steph., φίβουλος LM Xiph. Zon.

² τῶν Xiph., om. LM

influenced largely by Attia's emphatic declaration that the youth had been engendered by Apollo, for while sleeping once in his temple, she said, she thought she had intercourse with a serpent, and it was this that caused her at the end of the allotted time to bear a son. Before he came to the light of day she saw in a dream her entrails lifted to the heavens and spreading out over all the earth; and the same night Octavius thought that the sun rose from her womb. Hardly had the child been born when Nigidius Figulus, a senator, straightway prophesied for him absolute power. This man could distinguish most accurately of his contemporaries the order of the firmament and the differences between the stars, what they accomplish when by themselves and when together, by their conjunctions and by their intervals, and for this reason had incurred the charge of practising some forbidden art. He, then, on this occasion met Octavius, who, on account of the birth of the child, was somewhat late in reaching the senate-house (for there happened to be a meeting of the senate that day), and upon asking him why he was late and learning the cause, he cried out, "You have begotten a master over us" At this Octavius was alarmed and wished to destroy the infant, but Nigidius restrained him, saying that it was impossible for it to suffer any such fate. These things were reported at that time; and while the child was being brought up in the country, an eagle snatched from his hands a loaf of bread and after soaring aloft flew down and gave it back to him. When he was now a lad and was staying in Rome, Cicero dreamed that the boy had been let

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down from the sky by golden chains to the Capitol and had received a whip from Jupiter. He did not know who the boy was, but meeting him the next day on the Capitol itself, he recognized him and told the vision to the bystanders. Catulus, who had likewise never seen Octavius, thought in his sleep that all the noble boys had marched in a solemn procession to Jupiter on the Capitol, and in the course of the ceremony the god had cast what looked like an image of Rome into that boy's lap. Startled at this, he went up to the Capitol to offer prayers to the god, and finding there Octavius, who had gone up for some reason or other, he compared his appearance with the dream and convinced himself of the truth of the vision. When, later, Octavius had grown up and reached maturity and was putting on man's dress, his tunic was rent on both sides from his shoulders and fell to his feet. Now this event in itself not only foreboded no good as an omen, but it also distressed those who were present because it had happened on the occasion of his first putting on man's garb; it occurred, however, to Octavius to say, "I shall have the whole senatorial dignity beneath my feet," and the outcome proved in accordance with his words. Caesar, accordingly, founded great hopes upon him as a result of all this, enrolled him among the patricians, and trained him for the rule, carefully educating him in all the arts that should be possessed by one who was

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8 τηλικούτο κράτος διοικήσειν ὑπάρχειν ἀκριβῶς
 ἐξεπαίδευσεν· λόγοις τε γὰρ ῥητορικοῖς, οὐχ ὅτι
 τῇ τῶν Λατίνων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇδε τῇ γλώσσει,
 ἡσκεῖτο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἐρρωμένως ἐξε-
 πονεῖτο, τά τε πολιτικά καὶ τὰ ἀρχικά ἰσχυρῶς
 ἐδιδάσκετο.

- 3 Οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ὀκτάουσιος ἔτυχεν μὲν τότε, ὅτε
 ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐσφάγη, ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τῇ¹ πρὸς
 τῷ Ἰονίῳ ὣν κόλπῳ ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ (κατὰ γὰρ
 τὴν στρατείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους ἐκείσε
 προεπέπεμπτο²), πυθόμενος δὲ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς
 ἡλγησε μὲν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ
 νεωτερίσαι τι εὐθύς ἐτόλμησεν· οὔτε γὰρ ὅτι
 υἱὸς οὐθ' ὅτι κληρονόμος κατελέλειπτο ἡκηκόει³
 πω, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁμονοῶν ἐπὶ τῷ
 2 γεγονότι ἡγγέλλετο τὴν πρώτην. περαιωθεὶς
 δὲ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, καὶ τὰς τε διαθήκας ἅμα
 καὶ τὴν γνώμην τοῦ δήμου τὴν δευτέραν μαθὼν,
 οὐκέτ' ἀναβολὰς ἐποίησατο, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅπῃ
 καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ στρατιώτας συχνοὺς
 συμπροπεμφθέντας εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τό τε ὄνομα τοῦ
 Καίσαρος παραχρήμα ἀνέλαβε καὶ τοῦ κλήρου
 4 αὐτὸν διεδέξατο, τῶν τε πραγμάτων εἶχετο. καὶ
 τότε μὲν προπετῶς τέ τισι τοῦτο καὶ τολμηρῶς
 πεποιηκέναι ἔδοξεν, ὕστερον δὲ ἕκ τε τῆς εὐτυχίας
 καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἐπικατάρθωσε καὶ ἀνδρείας ὄνομα
 2 προσεκτῆσατο. πολλὰ γὰρ ἤδη τινὲς οὐκ ὀρθῶς
 ἐπιχειρήσαντες δόξαν, ὅτι ἐπιτυχεῖς αὐτῶν ἐγέ-
 νοντο, εὐβουλίας ἔσχον· καὶ ἕτεροι ἄριστά τινα

¹ τῇ Rk., ἔτι LM Xiph.

² προεπέπεμπτο Bk., προσεπέπεμπτο LM.

³ ἡκηκόει πω Bk., ἡκηκόει Rk., ἡκηκόητο LM.

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destined to direct well and worthily so great a power. B. C. 44
Thus he was practised in oratory, not only in the Latin language but in the Greek as well, was vigorously trained in military service, and thoroughly instructed in politics and the art of government.

Now this Octavius chanced at the time that Caesar was murdered to be in Apollonia on the Ionic Gulf, pursuing his education; for he had been sent ahead thither in view of Caesar's intended campaign against the Parthians. When he learned what had happened, he was of course grieved, but did not dare to begin a revolution at once; for he had not yet heard that he had been made Caesar's son or even his heir, and moreover the first news he received was to the effect that the people were of one mind in the affair. When, however, he had crossed to Brundisium and had been informed about Caesar's will and the people's second thought, he made no delay, particularly as he had large sums of money and numerous soldiers who had been sent ahead under his charge, but immediately assumed the name of Caesar, succeeded to his estate, and began to busy himself with public affairs. At the time he seemed to some to have acted recklessly and daringly in this, but later, thanks to his good fortune and the successes he achieved, he acquired a reputation for bravery for this act. For it has often happened that men who were wrong in undertaking some project have gained a reputation for good judgment, because they had the luck to gain their ends; while others, who made the best possible choice, have been

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

- προελόμενοι μωρίαν, ὅτι μὴ κατέτυχον αὐτῶν,
 3 ὧφλον.¹ καὶ ἐκεῖνος σφαλερῶς μὲν καὶ ἐπικιν-
 δύνως ἐποίησεν ὅτι τὴν τε ἡλικίαν τὴν ἄρτι ἐκ
 παίδων ἄγων (ὀκτωκαιδεκέτης γὰρ ἦν) καὶ τὴν
 διαδοχὴν καὶ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ
 ἐπίφθονον καὶ ἐπαίτιον ὁρῶν οὖσαν, ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ
 τοιαῦτα ὥρμησεν ἐφ' οἷς ὁ τε Καῖσαρ ἐπεφόνευτο
 καὶ τιμωρία οὐδεμία αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ οὔτε
 τοὺς σφαγέας οὔτε τὸν Λέπιδον τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον
 4 ἔδεισεν· οὐ μέντοι καὶ κακῶς βεβουλευσθαι
 ἔδοξεν, ὅτι καὶ κατάρθωσε. τὸ μέντοι δαιμόνιον
 πᾶσαν οὐχ ἄσαφῶς τὴν αὐτόθεν μέλλουσάν σφισι
 ταραχὴν ἔσσεσθαι προεσήμηνεν· ἐς γὰρ τὴν Ῥώμην
 ἐσιόντος αὐτοῦ ἱρις πάντα τὸν ἥλιον πολλὴ καὶ
 ποικίλῃ περιέσχεν.
 5 Οὕτως ὁ πρότερον μὲν² Ὀκτάουιος, τότε δὲ
 ἤδη Καῖσαρ, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Αὐγουστος ἐπικληθεὶς
 ἤψατο τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ κατέπραξε
 καὶ κατειργάσατο παντὸς μὲν ἀνδρὸς νεανικώ-
 τερον, παντὸς δὲ πρεσβύτου³ φρονιμώτερον.
 2 πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ μόνῃ τῇ τοῦ κλήρου
 διαδοχῇ, καὶ ιδιωτικῶς καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων, ἀνευ
 ὄγκου τινός, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆλθεν· ἔπειτ' οὗτ'⁴
 ἠπείλει οὐδενὶ οὐδέν, οὔτε ἐνεδείκνυτο ὅτι ἄχθοιτό
 τε τοῖς γεγενοῦσιν καὶ τιμωρίαν αὐτῶν ποιήσοιτο.
 3 τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἀπῆτει τι τῶν
 χρημάτων ὧν προηρπάκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐθεράπευε,
 καίτοι καὶ προπηλακιζόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
 ἀδικούμενος· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἐκεῖνος καὶ λόγῳ

¹ ὧφλον Xyl., ὠφειλον LM.

² δ πρότερον μὲν Bk., μὲν ὁ πρότερον LM Xiph.

³ πρεσβύτου Bk., πρεσβυτέρου LM, γέροντος Xiph.

⁴ οὐτ' Bk., οὐδ' LM.

BOOK XLV

charged with folly because they were not fortunate enough to attain their objects. He, too, acted in a precarious and hazardous fashion; for he was only just past boyhood, being eighteen years of age, and saw that his succession to the inheritance and the family was sure to provoke jealousy and censure; yet he set out in pursuit of objects such as had led to Caesar's murder, which had not been avenged, and he feared neither the assassins nor Lepidus and Antony. Nevertheless, he was not thought to have planned badly, because he proved to be successful. Heaven, however, indicated in no obscure manner all the confusion that would result to the Romans from it; for as he was entering Rome a great halo with the colours of the rainbow surrounded the whole sun. B C 44

In this way he who was formerly called Octavius, but already by this time Caesar, and subsequently Augustus, took a hand in public affairs; and he managed and dealt with them more vigorously than any man in his prime, more prudently than any graybeard. In the first place, he entered the city as if for the sole purpose of succeeding to the inheritance, coming as a private citizen with only a few attendants, without any display. Again, he did not utter threats against any one nor show that he was displeased at what had occurred and would take vengeance for it. Indeed, so far from demanding of Antony any of the money that he had previously plundered, he actually paid court to him, although he was insulted and wronged by him. For Antony did him many injuries both in word and deed,

καὶ ἔργῳ αὐτὸν ἐκάκου, καὶ τὸν νόμον τὸν
 φρατριατικὸν¹ ἐσφερόμενον, καθ' ὃν τὴν ἐσποίη-
 σιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος γενέσθαι
 4 ἔδει, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσπούδαζε δῆθεν ἐσενεγκεῖν, διὰ
 δὲ δημάρχων τινῶν ἀνεβάλλετο, ὅπως, ὡς μηδέπω
 παῖς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ὢν, μήτε τι τῆς οὐσίας
 πολυπραγμονοίῃ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ἀσθενέστερος
 6 εἴη. ἐπ' οὖν τούτοις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἡσχαλλε μέν,
 οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀσφαλῶς παρρησιάζασθαι τι
 δυνάμενος ἠνείχετο, μέχρις οὐ τὸ πλήθος, ὑφ'
 οὐ τὸν πατέρα αὐξηθέντα ἠπίστατο, προσεποιή-
 2 σατο. ὀργὴν τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου
 θανάτῳ ἔχοντας εἰδώς, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὡς καὶ παῖδα
 αὐτοῦ σπουδάσειν ἐλπίσας, τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον
 διὰ τε τὴν ἵππαρχίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν
 σφαγέων οὐ τιμωρίαν μισοῦντας αἰσθόμενος,
 ἐπεχείρησε μὲν δημαρχῆσαι πρὸς τε τὴν τῆς
 δημαγωγίας ἀφορμὴν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν
 3 τῆς ἐξ αὐτῆς δυναστείας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φῆς
 τοῦ Κίννου χώρας κενῆς οὔσης ἀντεποιήσατο,
 κωλυθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐχ
 ἡσύχασεν, ἀλλὰ Τιβέριον Καννούτιον δημαρ-
 χοῦντα ἀναπείσας ἐς τε τὸν ὄμιλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
 ἐσῆχθη, πρόφασιν τὴν δωρεὰν τὴν καταλειφ-
 θείσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ποιησάμενος, καὶ δημη-
 γορήσας ὅσα ἤρμοττε, ταύτην τε εὐθύς ἐκτίσειν
 σφίσιν ὑπέσχετο καὶ ἄλλα αὐτοὺς² πολλὰ
 4 προσεπῆλπισε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν πανήγυριν
 τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου ἐκποιήσει καταδειχ-
 θείσαν, ἣν ὑποδεξάμενοί τινες ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ

¹ φρατριατικὸν R. Steph., φρατρικὸν LM.² αὐτοὺς Rk, αὐτοῦ LM.

BOOK XLV

particularly when the *lex curiata* was proposed by which the transfer of Octavius into Caesar's family was to take place; Antony himself pretended to be doing his best to have it passed, but through some tribunes he kept securing its postponement, in order that the young man, not being as yet Caesar's son according to law, might not meddle with the property and might be weaker in all other ways. Caesar was vexed at this, but as he was unable to speak his mind freely, he bore it until he had won over the multitude, by whom he understood his father had been raised to honour. For he knew that they were angry at Caesar's death and hoped they would be devoted to him as his son, and he perceived that they hated Antony on account of his conduct as master of the horse and also for his failure to punish the assassins. Hence he undertook to become tribune as a starting point for popular leadership and to secure the power that would result from it; and he accordingly became a candidate for the place of Cinna, which was vacant. Though hindered by Antony's followers, he did not desist, and after using persuasion upon Tiberius Cannutius, a tribune, he was by him brought before the populace; and taking as his pretext the gift bequeathed the people by Caesar, he addressed them in appropriate words, promising that he would discharge this debt at once and giving them cause to hope for much besides. After this came the festival appointed in honour of the completion of the temple of Venus, which some, while Caesar was still alive, had promised

B.C. 44

- Καίσαρος ἐπιτελέσειν ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ, ὥσπερ που καὶ τὴν τῶν Παριλίων¹ ἵπποδρομίαν, ἐποιοῦντο, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πλήθους θεραπείᾳ, ὡς καὶ προσήκουσαν διὰ τὸ γένος, τοῖς οἰκείοις τέλεσι
- 5 διέθηκε. καὶ τότε μὲν οὔτε τὸν δίφρον τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸν ἐπίχρυσον οὔτε τὸν στέφανον τὸν διάλιθον ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐσήγαγεν ὥσπερ ἐψηφίστο, φοβηθεὶς τὸν Ἀντώνιον· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἄστρον τι παρὰ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἐκ τῆς ἄρκτου πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐξεφάνη, καὶ αὐτὸ κομήτην τέ τινων καλούντων καὶ προσημαίνειν οἶα που εἶωθε λεγόντων· οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπίστευον, τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἀπηθανατισμένῳ καὶ ἐς τὸν τῶν ἄστρων ἀριθμὸν ἐγκατελεγμένῳ ἀνέτιθесαν, θαρσύνσας χαλκοῦν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον, ἀστέρα ὑπὲρ
- 2 τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοντα, ἔστησεν. ἐπειδὴ τε οὐδὲ² τοῦτό τις φόβῳ τοῦ ὀμίλου ἐκώλυσεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τῶν ἐς τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμὴν προδοδογμένων ἐγένετο· τὸν τε γὰρ μῆνα τὸν Ἰούλιον ὁμοίως ἐκάλεσαν, καὶ ἱερομηνίαις τισὶν ἐπινικίοις ἰδίαν ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἐβουθύτησαν. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐτοίμως, ἄλλως τε καὶ χρήμασι θεραπευθέντων τινῶν, συνίσταντο πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα.
- 3 Θροῦς τε οὖν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἐδόκει τι νέον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἀπὸ μετεώρου καὶ ἀπὸ περιόπτου τινός, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰώθει ποιεῖν, ἐντυχεῖν τι ἐβελήσαντα οὐ προσεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ

¹ παριλίων M, παραλίων L.² οὐδὲ Rk., οὔτε LM.

BOOK XLV

to celebrate, but were now holding in slight regard, even as they did the games in the Circus in honour of the Parilia;¹ so, to win the favour of the populace, he provided for it at his private expense, on the ground that it concerned him because of his family. At this time out of fear of Antony he did not bring into the theatre either Caesar's gilded chair or his crown set with precious stones, as had been permitted by decree. When, however, a certain star during all those days appeared in the north toward evening, which some called a comet, claiming that it foretold the usual occurrences, while the majority, instead of believing this, ascribed it to Caesar, interpreting it to mean that he had become immortal and had been received into the number of the stars, Octavius then took courage and set up in the temple of Venus a bronze statue of him with a star above his head. And when this act also was allowed, no one trying to prevent it through fear of the populace, then at last some of the other decrees already passed in honour of Caesar were put into effect. Thus they called one of the months July after him, and in the course of certain festivals of thanksgiving for victory they sacrificed during one special day in memory of his name. For these reasons the soldiers also, particularly since some of them received largesses of money, readily took the side of Caesar.

A rumour accordingly got abroad and it seemed likely that something unusual would take place. This belief was due particularly to the circumstance that once, when Octavius wished to speak with Antony in court about something, from an elevated and conspicuous place, as he had been wont to do in his father's lifetime, Antony would not permit it,

¹ Cf. xliii 42.

- καὶ κατέσπασε καὶ ἐξήλασε διὰ τῶν ῥαβδούχων.
 8 δεινῶς γὰρ δὴ πάντες ἠγανάκτησαν, καὶ οὐχ
 ἥκιστα ὅτι ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔτι, πρὸς
 τε τὸ ἐκείνου ἐπίφθονον καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πλήθους
 ἐπαγωγόν, ἐφοίτησε. φοβηθεῖς οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος
 διελέξατό ποτε τοῖς παροῦσιν ὅτι οὔτε τινὰ ὄργην
 τῷ Καίσαρι ἔχοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὖνοϊαν αὐτῷ ὀφείλοι,
 καὶ ὅτι ἔτοιμος εἴη πᾶσαν τὴν ὑποψίαν ἀπολύσα-
 2 σθαι. ἀγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐκείνῳ συνήλθον
 μὲν ἐς λόγους, καὶ κατηλλάχθαι τισὶν ἔδοξαν
 (τάς τε γὰρ γνώμας σφῶν ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες, καὶ
 ἐξελέγξαν τότε αὐτὰς ἀκαιροῦ εἶναι νομίσαντες,
 ἀνθυπεῖξάν τινα ἀλλήλοις¹ συμβιβάζόμενοι),
 καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν τινὰς ἡσύχασαν, ἔπειτα δὲ
 ἀνθυποπτεύσαντες ἀλλήλους, εἴτ' ἐξ ἀληθοῦς
 ἐπιβουλῆς εἴτε καὶ ἐκ ψευδοῦς διαβολῆς, οἷα ἐν
 τῷ τοιούτῳ φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι, διηνέχθησαν αὐθις.
 3 ὅταν γάρ τινες ἐκ μεγάλης ἔχθρας συννευχθῶσι,
 πολλὰ μὲν μηδὲν δεινὸν ἔχοντα πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ
 συντυχίας συμβαίνοντα² ὑποτοποῦσι· πᾶν γὰρ
 ἐνὶ λόγῳ ὥς καὶ ἐξεπίτηδες καὶ ἐπὶ κακῷ τινι
 γιγνόμενον πρὸς τὸ προυνάρξαν ἔχθος λαμ-
 βάνουσι. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οἱ διὰ μέσου
 ὄντες συνεπιτίθενται· διαγγέλλοντες γάρ τινα
 προσποιήσῃ εὐνοίας ἐπιπαροξύνουσιν αὐτούς.
 4 πλείστον τε γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ βουλόμενον πάντας τοὺς
 τι δυναμένους ἀλλήλοις διαφέρεισθαι, καὶ διὰ
 τοῦτ' ἐπιχαῖρόν τε³ ἐπὶ τῇ ἔχθρᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ συν-
 επιβουλεύόν σφισι· καὶ ῥᾶστον ἀπατηθῆναι λό-

¹ ἀλλήλοις Reim., ἀλλήλους LM.² συμβαίνοντα Bk., λαμβάνοντες LM³ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐπιχαῖρόν τε Bk., διὰ τοὺς ἐπιχαίροντας LM.

BOOK XLV

but caused his lictors to drag him down and drive him out. All were exceedingly vexed, especially as Caesar, with a view to casting odium upon his rival and attracting the multitude, would no longer even frequent the Forum. So Antony became alarmed, and in conversation with the bystanders one day remarked that he harboured no anger against Caesar, but on the contrary owed him good-will, and was ready to end all suspicion. The statement was reported to the other, they held a conference, and some thought they had become reconciled. For they understood each other's feelings accurately, and, thinking it inopportune at that time to put them to the test, they tried to come to terms by making a few mutual concessions. And for some days they kept quiet; then they began to suspect each other afresh, as a result either of some actual treachery or some false calumny, as regularly happens under such conditions, and fell out again. For when men become reconciled after some great enmity they are suspicious of many acts that have no significance and of many chance occurrences; in brief, they regard everything, in the light of their former hostility, as done on purpose and for an evil end. And in the meantime those who are neutral aggravate the trouble between them by bearing reports back and forth under the pretence of good-will and thus exasperating them still further. For there is a very large element which is anxious to see all those who have power at variance with one another, an element which consequently takes delight in their enmity and joins in plots against them. And the one who has previously suffered from calumny is very easy to deceive with

B C. 44

γοις ἐπιτετηδευμένοις ἐκ φιλίας ἀνυπόπτου τὸ προδιαβεβλημένον. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτου καὶ ἐκείνοι, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ πρὶν πιστεύοντες ἀλλήλοις, ἐπὶ πλέον ἡλλοτριώθησαν.

- 9 Ὅρων οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὸν Καίσαρα αὐξανόμενον, ἐπεχείρησε δελεάσαι τὸ πλῆθος, εἰ πως ἐκείνου τε αὐτοὺς ἀποσπάσειε καὶ ἑαυτῷ προσποιήσειε, καὶ χώραν ἄλλην τε πολλὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι τοῖς Πομπτήνιοις, ὡς κεχωσμένοις ἤδη καὶ ¹ γεωργεῖσθαι δυναμένοις, κληρουχθῆναι διὰ Λουκίου Ἀντωνίου ἀδελφοῦ δημαρχοῦντος ἐσηγή-
 2 σατο. τρεῖς γὰρ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ Ἀντώνιοι οὗτοι ὄντες ἀρχὰς ἅμα πάντες ἔσχον, ὁ μὲν Μάρκος ὑπατεύων, ὁ δὲ Λούκιος δημαρχῶν, ὁ δὲ Γάιος στρατηγῶν· ὅθεν οὐχ ἥκιστα ἠδυνήθησαν τοὺς μὲν τότε τῶν συμμάχων καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἄρχοντας, πλὴν τῶν σφαγέων τῶν πλειόνων, ἄλλων τέ τινων οὓς πιστοὺς σφισιν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, παῦσαι,
 3 ἐτέρους δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀνθελέσθαι, καὶ τισιν ἐπὶ μακρότερον, παρὰ τὰ νενομοθετημένα πρὸς ² τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἄρχειν ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν Μακεδονίαν τὴν τῷ Μάρκῳ ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου δεδομένην ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Γάιος σφετερίσασθαι, τὴν δὲ Γαλατίαν τὴν ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων, ἣ ὁ Βρούτος ὁ Δέκιμος προσετέτακτο, αὐτὸς ἐκείνος μετὰ τῶν στρατευμάτων τῶν ³ ἐς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν προπεμφθέντων, ὡς καὶ ἰσχυροτάτην καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν οὔσαν, ἀντιλαβεῖν.
 4 ταῦτά τε οὖν ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ τῷ Σέξτῳ δύναμιν ἤδη πολλὴν ἔχοντι ἢ τε ἄδεια,

¹ καὶ Reim., καὶ τε (τε M) LM.

² πρὸς Bs., παρὰ LM.

³ τῶν supplied by Rk.

BOOK XLV

words adapted to the purpose by friends whose attachment is free from suspicion. Thus it was that these men, who even before this had not trusted each other, became now more estranged than ever. B.C. 44

So Antony, seeing that Caesar was gaining ground, attempted to attract the populace by various baits, to see if he could detach them from his rival and win them to himself. Hence he introduced a measure for the opening up to settlement of a great amount of land, including the region of the Pontine marshes, since these had already been filled in and were capable of cultivation. He did this through his brother Lucius Antonius, who was tribune ; for the three Antonii, who were brothers, all held offices at the same time, Marcus being consul, Lucius tribune, and Gaius praetor. This in particular enabled them to remove those who were then governing the allies and subjects (except the majority of the assassins and some others whom they regarded as loyal) and to choose others in their place, and also to grant to some the privilege of holding office for an unusually long term, contrary to the laws established by Caesar. And thus Macedonia, which had fallen to Marcus by lot, was appropriated by his brother Gaius, while Marcus himself with the legions previously sent to Apollonia took in its place Cisalpine Gaul, to which Decimus Brutus had been assigned, because it was very powerful in soldiers and money. After these arrangements had been voted, the pardon granted to Sextus Pompey, who already had considerable influence, was confirmed, in spite of the fact that it had

καίτοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
δοθεῖσα, ἐβεβαιώθη, καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὅσα ἐν τε
ἀργυρίῳ καὶ ἐν χρυσίῳ τὸ δημόσιον ἐκ τῆς πα-
τρῶας αὐτοῦ οὐσίας εἰλήφει, ἀποδοθῆναι ἐγνώσθη·
τῶν γὰρ χωρίων αὐτῆς¹ τὰ πλείω Ἀντώνιος ἔχων
οὐδεμίαν ἀπόδοσιν ἐποιήσατο.

- 10 Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπραττον, διηγῆσομαι δὲ
καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Σέξτον γενόμενα. ὥς γὰρ τότε
ἀπὸ τῆς Κορδούβης ἔφυγε, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐς
Λακητανίαν ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα ἐκρύφθη· ἐπεδιώχθη
μὲν γάρ, διέλαθε δὲ εὐνοικῶς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων οἱ
2 διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμην ἔχόντων· ἔπειτα δὲ
ἐπειδὴ ὁ τε Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπῆρε καὶ ἐν
τῇ Βαιτικῇ στρατεύμα οὐ πολὺ ὑπελείφθη, συνέ-
στησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς μάχης
διασωθέντες, καὶ οὕτω μετ' αὐτῶν ἔς τε τὴν
Βαιτικὴν, ὥς καὶ ἐπιτηδειοτέραν ἐμπολεμῆσαι
3 οὖσαν, αὐθις ἀφίκετο, κἀνταῦθα καὶ στρατιώτας
καὶ πόλεις, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέ-
θανε, τὰς μὲν ἐκούσας τὰς δὲ καὶ βία προσλαβὼν
(ὁ γὰρ ἄρχων αὐτῶν Γάιος Ἀσίνιος Πωλίων²
οὐδὲν ἰσχυρὸν εἶχεν) ὥρμησε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρ-
4 χηδόνα τὴν Ἰβηρικὴν, ἐπιθεμένου δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τοῦ
Πωλίωνος² τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ κακώσαντός
τινα ἐπανήλθε χειρὶ πολλῇ, καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτόν
τε ἐτρέψατο, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἰσχυρῶς ἀγωνιζο-
μένους ἔπειτ' ἐκ συντυχίας τοιαῶςδε ἐξέπληξε καὶ
5 ἐνίκησεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος μὲν τὴν χλαμύδα
τὴν στρατηγικὴν³ ἀπέρριψεν ὥστε ῥᾶον τῇ φυγῇ

¹ αὐτῆς R. Steph., αὐτοῖς LM, αὐτοῦ Xiph.

² Πωλίων, Πωλίωνος Reim., πολίων, πολίωνος LM.

³ στρατηγικὴν Bk., στρατιωτικὴν LM.

originally been granted by Caesar to him as to all the rest. It was further resolved that whatever money in silver or gold the public treasury had received from his ancestral estate should be restored ; but as for the lands belonging to it, Antony held the most of them and made no restoration. B.C 44

This was the business in which these men were engaged. I shall now relate how Sextus had fared. When he had fled from Corduba on the former occasion,¹ he first came to Lacetania and concealed himself there. He was pursued, to be sure, but eluded discovery because the natives were kindly disposed to him out of regard for his father's memory. Later, when Caesar had set out for Italy and only a small army was left behind in Baetica, Sextus was joined both by the natives and by those who had escaped from the battle ; and with them he came again into Baetica, because he thought it a more suitable region in which to carry on war. There he gained possession of soldiers and cities, particularly after Caesar's death, some voluntarily and some forcibly ; for the commander in charge of them, Gaius Asinius Pollio, had no strong force. He next set out against Spanish Carthage, but since in his absence Pollio made an attack and did some damage, he returned with a large force, met his opponent, and routed him, after which the following accident enabled him to terrify and conquer the rest also, who were contending fiercely. Pollio had cast off his general's cloak, in order to suffer less chance of detection

¹ Cf. xliii. 39, 1.

λαθεῖν, ἕτερος δέ τις ὁμώνυμός τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιφανῆς ἱππεὺς ἔπεσε, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔκειτο ἢ δὲ ἐαλώκει,¹ τὸ μὲν ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ δὲ ἰδόντες ἠπατήθησαν ὥς καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σφῶν ἀπο-
 6 λωλότος καὶ ἐνέδοσαν. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Σέξτος νικήσας πάντα ὀλίγου τὰ ταύτη κατέσχε. δυνατοὺ δὲ ἤδη αὐτοῦ ὄντος ὁ Λεπίδος τῆς τε ὁμόρου² Ἰβηρίας ἄρξων ἀφίκετο, καὶ ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν ἐς ὁμολογίαν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ³ τὰ πατρῷα κομίσασθαι. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ Λεπίδου φιλίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔχθραν ψηφισθῆναι ἐποίησεν.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκ τῆς
 11 Ἰβηρίας ἀπηλλάγη. Καίσαρ δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος πάντα μὲν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἔπραττον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ φανερώς πω συνερρώγεσαν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐκπεπολεμωμένοι, τῇ γοῦν δοκῇσι ἐπεκρύπτοντο. καὰκ τούτου καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντα ἐν
 2 τε ἀκρισίᾳ⁴ πολλῇ ἦν καὶ συνεκέχυτο. εἰρήνην ἔτι καὶ ἐπολέμουν ἤδη· τό τε τῆς ἐλευθερίας σχῆμα ἐφαντάζετο καὶ τὰ τῆς δυναστείας ἔργα ἐγίγνετο. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ⁵ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ὅτε καὶ ὑπατεύων, ἐπλεονέκει, ἢ δὲ δὴ σπουδῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐποίει, τὸ μὲν διὰ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας ὧν ὑπισχνεῖτο, μέγιστον δὲ⁶ ὅτι τῷ τε Ἀντωνίῳ πολὺ δυναμένῳ ἠχθοντο καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι μηδέπω
 3 ἰσχύοντι συνῆροντο. ἐφίλουν μὲν γὰρ οὐδέτερον, νέων δὲ δὴ αἰεὶπραγμάτων ἐπιθυμοῦντες, καὶ τὸ

¹ ἐαλώκει L ἀλώκει M.² ὁμόρου Xiph., ὁμοχώρου LM.³ τῷ L Xiph., τὸ M.⁴ ἀκρισίᾳ L Xiph., ἀκρασίαι M.⁵ ἐμφανεῖ Xiph., ἀφανεῖ LM.⁶ δὲ Rk., τε LM Xiph.

in his flight, and another man of the same name, a distinguished knight, had fallen. The soldiers, hearing the name of the latter, who was lying there, and seeing the garment, which had been captured, were deceived, thinking that their general had perished, and so surrendered. In this way Sextus conquered and gained possession of nearly the whole region. When he had thus become powerful, Lepidus arrived to govern the adjoining portion of Spain, and persuaded him to enter into an agreement on the condition of recovering his father's estate. And Antony, influenced by his friendship for Lepidus and by his hostility toward Caesar, caused such a decree to be passed. B C. 44

So Sextus, in this way and on these conditions, departed from Spain. As for Caesar and Antony, in all their acts they were opposing each other, but had not yet fallen out openly, and while in reality they had become enemies, they tried to disguise the fact so far as appearances went. As a result all other interests in the city were in great confusion and turmoil. The citizens were still at peace and yet already at war; the appearance of liberty was kept up, but the deeds done were those of a monarchy. To a casual observer Antony, since he held the consulship, seemed to be getting the best of it, but the zeal of the masses was for Caesar. This was partly on his father's account, partly on account of their hopes for what he kept promising them, but above all because they were displeased at the great power of Antony and were inclined to assist Caesar while he was as yet devoid of strength. Neither man, to be sure, had their affection; but they were always eager for a change of government, and it

- μὲν κρεῖττον αἰὲ πᾶν καθαιρεῖν τῷ δὲ πιεζομένῳ
βοηθεῖν πεφυκότες, ἀπεχρῶντο αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ
σφέτερα ἐπιθυμήματα. ταπεινώσαντες οὖν τότε
διὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἔπειτα κἀκείνον
4 καταλῦσαι ἐπεχείρησαν. τοῖς γάρ τι αἰὲ δυνα-
μένοις βαρυνόμενοι τοὺς τε ἀσθενεστέρους προσε-
λάμβανον καὶ διὰ τούτων αὐτοὺς καθήρουν·
ἔπειτα καὶ ἐκείνοις ἡλλοτριοῦντο. κἂκ τούτου
ἀντικαθιστάντες σφᾶς ἐς τὸ ἐπίφθονον τοὺς
αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐφίλουν καὶ ἐμίσουν, καὶ ἡῤῃξον καὶ
ἐταπεῖνουν.
- [2 Οὕτως οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ
περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐχόντων ἀρχὴν τήνδε ὁ πόλε-
μος ἔλαβεν. ὁ Καῖσαρ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐς τὸ
Βρεντέσιον πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς
Μακεδονίας περαιωθέντας ἀφορμήσαντος ἐκείσε
2 μὲν ἐτέρους τινὰς μετὰ χρημάτων, ὅπως σφᾶς
σφετερίσωσι, προαπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μέχρι
Καμπανίας ἐλθὼν πλήθος ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τῆς Καπύης
μάλιστα, ἅτε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, φῖ
τιμωρεῖν ἔλεγε, τήν τε χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν
εἰληφότων, ἡθροισεν, ὑπισχνεῖτό τέ σφίσι πολλά,
καὶ ἔδωκεν εὐθύς τότε κατὰ πεντακοσίας δραχμᾶς.
3 ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἡουοκάτων¹
σύστημα, οὓς ἀνακλήτους ἂν τις ἑλληνίσας, ὅτι
πεπαυμένοι τῆς στρατείας² ἐπ' αὐτὴν³ αὖθις
ἀνεκλήθησαν, ὀνομάσειεν, ἐνομίσθη. καὶ αὐτοὺς
παραλαβὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἡπείχθη τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην
4 πρὶν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνακομισθῆναι, καὶ ἐς τὸν

¹ ἡουοκάτων Xyl., ἡουκάτων ἢ βηκάτων LM.² στρατείας H. Steph., στρατιᾶς LM.³ αὐτὴν R. Steph., αὐτὸν LM.

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was their nature to overthrow every party that had the upper hand and to help the one that was being oppressed. Consequently they made use of the two to suit their own desires. Thus, after humbling Antony at this time through Caesar, they next undertook to destroy the latter also. For in their irritation against the men successively in power they regularly took up with the weaker side and attempted with its help to overthrow the others; afterwards they would become estranged from this side also. Thus exposing both of them to envy in turn, they alternately loved and hated, elevated and humbled, the same persons. B.C. 44

While they were thus disposed toward Caesar and Antony, the war began in the following way. When Antony had set out for Brundisium to meet the soldiers who had crossed over from Macedonia, Caesar sent some men to that city with money, who were to arrive there before Antony and win over the men, while he himself went to Campania and collected a large number of men, chiefly from Capua, because the people there had received their land and city from his father, whom he said he was avenging. He made them many promises and gave them on the spot two thousand sesterces apiece. From these men was constituted the corps of *evocati*, which one might translate the "recalled," because after having ended their military service they were recalled to it again. Caesar took charge of them, hastened to Rome before Antony returned, and came

- ὄμιλον ὑπὸ τοῦ Καννουτίου παρασκευασθέντα αὐτῷ ἐσελθὼν πολλὰ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀνέμνησεν, ἐπεξιὼν ὅσα καλῶς ἐπεποιήκει, πολλὰ
 5 δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μέτρια διελέχθη, τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου κατηγόρησε, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντάς οἱ ἐπήνεσεν ὡς καὶ ἐθελοντὶ¹ πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν τῆς πόλεως παρόντας καὶ ἑαυτὸν τε ἐπ' αὐτῇ προκεχειρισμένους καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ
 6 πᾶσι ταῦτα δηλοῦντας.² ἐπαίνων τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔκ τε τῆς ἄλλης παρασκευῆς καὶ ἔκ τοῦ συνόντος αὐτῷ πλήθους τυχῶν ἀπήρεν³ ἐς τὴν Τυρσηνίαν,
 13 ὅπως καὶ ἐκεῖθεν δύναμιν τινα προσλάβῃ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν, Ἀντώνιον δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν φιλοφρόνως οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ ἐδέξαντο, προσδοκήσαντες πλείω παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν προτεινομένων σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος λήψεσθαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πολλῷ πλείω κεκτήσθαι αὐτὸν
 2 ἐκείνου ἐνόμιζον· ὡς μέντοι ἑκατὸν τε ἑκάστῳ δραχμὰς δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ θορυβησάντων σφαγῆναι ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ⁴ ἑκατοντάρχους ἐν τε τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς
 3 γυναικὸς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐκέλευσε, τότε μὲν ἡσύχασαν, πορευόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ γεγεννημένοι ἐνεωτέρισαν, καὶ καταφρονήσαντες τῶν ὑποστρατήγων τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων σφίσι συχνοὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα μετέστησαν· καὶ τό γε Ἄρειον τό τε⁵ τέταρτον στρατόπεδον ὠνομασμέ-
 4 νον ὅλον αὐτῷ προσεχώρησε. παραλαβὼν οὖν αὐτούς, καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ ἐκείνοις ὁμοίως δούς,

¹ ἐθελοντὶ H. Steph., ἐθελοντῇ LM.² δηλοῦντας Xyl., δηλοῦν LM. ³ ἀπήρεν Bk., ἀπῆρέ τε LM.⁴ τινας καὶ cod. Peir., om. LM. ⁵ τε added by Bs.

before the people, who had been made ready for him by Cannutius. There he reminded them in detail of the many excellent deeds his father had performed. delivered a lengthy, though moderate, defence of himself, and brought charges against Antony. He also praised the soldiers who had accompanied him, saying that they had come voluntarily to lend aid to the city, that they had elected him to preside over the state, and that through him they made known these facts to all. For this speech he received the approbation of his following and of the throng that stood by, after which he departed for Etruria with a view to obtaining an accession to his forces from that region. While he was doing this Antony had at first been kindly received in Brundisium by the soldiers, because they expected to secure more from him than was offered them by Caesar; for they believed that he possessed much more than his rival. When, however, he promised to give them merely four hundred sesterces apiece, they raised an outcry, but he reduced them to submission by ordering centurions as well as others to be slain before the eyes of himself and of his wife. So for the time being the soldiers were quiet, but when they arrived near the capital on the way to Gaul they mutinied, and many of them, despising the lieutenants who had been set over them, changed to Caesar's side; in fact, the Martian legion, as it was called, and the fourth went over to him in a body. Caesar took charge of them and won their attachment by giving money to them likewise,—an act which added

- προσέθετο καὶ ἄλλους ἐκ τούτου πολλούς, καὶ τοὺς τε ἐλέφαντας τοὺς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πάντας ἔλαβεν ἐξαπίνης παρακομιζομένοις σφίσιν ἐντυ-
 5 χών, ἐπειδὴ τε ἐκεῖνος ἄλλα τέ τινα ἐν¹ τῇ Ῥώμῃ διοικήσας, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς λοιποὺς τοὺς τε βουλευτὰς τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ὄντας ὀρκώσας, ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐξώρμησε² φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ αὐτὴ τι³ νεοχμώση, οὐδ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνεβάλετο, ἀλλ' ἐπηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ.
- 14 Ἦρχε μὲν δὴ τότε τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης ὁ Βρούτος ὁ Δέκιμος,⁴ καὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐλπίδα πολλὴν εἶχεν ἅτε καὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα ἀπεκτονότος· ἐπράχθη δέ ὧδε. ὁ Δέκιμος οὔτε τι ἐς τὸν Καῖσαρα ὑποπτεύων (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπηπείλει τι τοῖς σφαγεῦσι) καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐκείνου πολέμιον ἢ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν τι δυναμένων ὑπ' ἐμφύτου πλεονεξίας ὄρων ὄντα, οὐχ ὑπεῖξεν αὐτῷ. μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἠπόρησεν
 2 ὃ τι πράξῃ. ἐμίσει μὲν γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους αὐτούς, οὐ μέντοι καὶ εἶχεν ὅπως ἐκατέρῳ ἅμα μάχοιτο· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ ἑτέρῳ σφῶν ὅποτερῶν ἀντίπαλος ἦδη ἦν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἐδεδίει μὴ τοῦτο τολμήσας συστήσῃ τε αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις καὶ καθ' ἐν ἀμφο-
 3 τέροις⁵ πολεμήσῃ. λογισάμενος οὖν ὅτι ὁ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀγὼν ἦδη τε ἐνέστηκε καὶ ἐπείγει, τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδέπω καιρὸς εἴη, τὸν Δέκιμον προσηταιρίσατο. καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίστατο ὅτι τούτῳ μὲν, ἂν τῶν ἀντικαθεστῆ-

¹ ἐν Leuncl., καὶ ἐν LM.² ἐξώρμησε Zon., ἐφώρμησε LM. ³ τι M., τε L.⁴ Δέκιμος Leuncl., δέκιος LM (and similarly below).⁵ ἀμφοτέροις L., ἀμφοτέρους M.

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many more to his cause. He also captured all the elephants of Antony, by falling in with them suddenly as they were being driven along. Antony stopped in Rome only long enough to arrange a few affairs and to administer the oath to all the rest of the soldiers and the senators who were in their company; then he set out for Gaul, fearing that it, too, might begin an uprising. Caesar, on his side, did not delay, but followed after him. B.C. 44

The governor of Gaul at this time was Decimus Brutus, and Antony placed great hope in him, because he had helped to slay Caesar. But matters turned out as follows. Decimus had no suspicion of Caesar, for the latter had uttered no threats against the assassins; and, on the other hand, he saw that Antony was as much a foe of himself as of Caesar or of any of the rest who had any power, as a result of his natural cupidity; therefore he refused to give way to him. Caesar, when he heard of this, was for some time at a loss what course to adopt. For he hated both Decimus and Antony, but saw no way in which he could contend against them both at once; for he was by no means yet a match for either one of the two, and he was furthermore afraid that if he risked such a move he might throw them into each other's arms and have to face their united opposition. After stopping to reflect, therefore, that the struggle with Antony had already begun and was urgent, but that it was not yet a fitting season for avenging his father, he made a friend of Decimus. For he well understood that he should find no great difficulty in fighting against

- κότων¹ δι' αὐτοῦ κρατήσῃ, οὐδὲν μέγα ἔργον μετὰ
 τοῦτό οἱ προσπολεμήσας ἔξει, ἐκείνουν δέ ἰσχυρὸν
 αὐθις πολέμιον² σχήσει· τοσοῦτόν που ἀλλήλων
 15 διέφερον. πέμψας οὖν πρὸς τὸν Δέκιμον φιλίαν
 τε αὐτῷ ἐπηγγείλατο, καὶ συμμαχίαν, ἂν μὴ τὸν
 Ἀντώνιον δέξεται, προσυπισχνεῖτο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 2 συνήρουντο. τότε μὲν οὖν (ἤδη γὰρ ὃ τε ἐνιαυτὸς
 ἔξῃει καὶ ὑπατος οὐδεὶς παρῆν· ὁ γὰρ Δολοβέλλας
 ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου προεξεπέπεμπτο)
 ἔπαινοι ἐν τῇ βουλῇ αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς
 στρατιώταις τοῖς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγκαταλιποῦσι,
 3 τῶν δημάρχων ἐπιψηφισάντων, ἐγένοντο.³ καὶ
 ὅπως γε μετὰ ἀδείας τοῦ νέου ἔτους ἐνστάντος
 βουλευσονται περὶ τῶν παρόντων, φρουρᾷ⁴ σφίσι
 στρατιωτῶν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ χρῆσθαι ἔδοξε. ταῦτα
 γὰρ ἤρεσκε μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πλείοσι τῶν
 ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε ὄντων (τὸν γὰρ Ἀντώνιον δεινῶς
 4 ἐμίσουν), μάλιστα δὲ δὴ τῷ Κικέρωνι· διὰ γὰρ τὸ
 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθος σφοδρότατον ὑπάρχον τὸν τε
 Καίσαρα ἐθεράπευε, καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἐδύνατο καὶ
 λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ τούτῳ τε ἐβοήθει καὶ ἐκείνουν ἐκά-
 κου. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, καίτοι ἐκχωρήσας ἐκ τῆς
 πόλεως ὥς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀθήναζε ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ
 προπέμψων, ἐπανήλθεν ἐπειδήπερ ἐκπεπολεμω-
 μένους σφᾶς ᾔσθετο.
- 16 Ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὖν τῷ ἔτει ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, καὶ ὁ
 Σερουίλιος⁵ ὁ Ἰσαυρικὸς ὑπεργήρως ἀπέθανε. διὰ
 τε οὖν τοῦτο ἐμνημόνευσα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι οὕτως οἱ

¹ ἀντικαθεστηκότων Rk., καθεστηκότων LM.² πολέμιον R. Steph., πόλεμον LM.³ ἐγένοντο L, ἐγένετο M. ⁴ φρουρᾷ Cobet, φρουραῖς LM.⁵ Σερουίλιος Xyl., σουλπίκιος LM.

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Decimus later, if with his aid he could first overcome his adversaries, but that in Antony he should again have a powerful antagonist; so serious were the differences between them. Accordingly he sent to Decimus, proposing friendship and also promising alliance, if he would refuse to receive Antony. This proposal caused the people in the city likewise to espouse Caesar's cause. Just at this time the year was drawing to a close and no consul was on the ground, Dolabella having been previously sent by Antony to Syria; nevertheless, eulogies both of Caesar and Brutus themselves and of the soldiers who had abandoned Antony were delivered in the senate with the concurrence of the tribunes. And in order that they might deliberate about the situation in security when the new year should begin, they voted to employ a guard of soldiers at their meetings. This pleased nearly all who were in Rome at the time, since they cordially detested Antony, and it was particularly gratifying to Cicero. For he, on account of his very bitter hostility toward Antony, was paying court to Caesar, and so far as he could, both by speech and by action, strove to assist him in every way and to injure Antony. It was for this reason that, although he had left the city to accompany his son to Athens in the interest of the young man's education, he returned on ascertaining that the two men had become enemies.

Besides these events which took place that year, Servilius Isauricus died at a very advanced age. I have mentioned him both for this reason and to

- τότε Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς τε τῷ ἀξιώματι προήκοντας¹
 ἡδοῦντο καὶ τοὺς ἀναιδεῖα τινὶ χρωμένους καὶ ἐπὶ
 2 τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις ἐμίσουν ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνός τινα
 ἐν ὁδῷ ποτε ἀπαντήσαντά οἱ βαδίζοντι ἱπ-
 πεύοντα, καὶ μήτε ἀποπηδήσαντα καὶ προσέτι
 ἰσχυρῶς προσεξέλασαντα, ἐγνώρισέ² τε μετὰ
 τοῦτο ἐν δικαστηρίῳ κρινόμενον καὶ εἶπε³ τοῖς
 δικασταῖς τὸ γενόμενον, οὔτε λόγον ἔτ' αὐτῷ
 ἔδωσαν καὶ κατεψηφίσαντο πάντες.
- 17 Αὐλοῦ δὲ δὴ Ἰρτίου μετὰ Γαίου Οὐιβίου⁴
 ὑπατεύσαντος (οὗτος γάρ, καίτοι τοῦ πατρὸς
 αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰ λευκώματα τὰ Σύλλεια ἐσγραφέντος,
 ὑπατος τότε ἀπεδείχθη) βουλή τε ἐγένετο καὶ
 γινώμαι ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἐφεξῆς ἡμέρας,⁵ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς
 2 νομηνίας ἀρξάμεναι, προετέθησαν ἕκ τε γὰρ τοῦ
 πολέμου ἐν χερσὶν ὄντος καὶ ἐκ τεράτων, ἃ
 πλείστα καὶ ἐξαισιώτατα ἐγεγόνει, ταρασσόμενοι
 οὐδὲ τῆς ἀποφράδος, τὸ μὴ ἐν ἐκείναις βουλευ-
 σασθαί⁶ τι τῶν συμφερόντων σφίσιν, ἀπέσχοτο.
 κεραυνοὶ τε γὰρ παμπληθεῖς ἔπεσον, καὶ τινες
 αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸν νεὼν τὸν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ
 3 ἐν τῷ Νικαίῳ ὄντα⁷ κατέσκηψαν καὶ πνεῦμα
 μέγα ἐπιγενόμενον τὰς τε στήλας τὰς περὶ τὸ
 Κρόνιον καὶ περὶ τὸν τῆς Πίστεως νεὼν προσπε-
 πηγυίας ἀπέρρηξε καὶ διεσκέδασε, καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα
 τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Φυλακίδος, ὃ πρὸ τῆς φυγῆς ὁ
 Κικέρων ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνετεθείκει,⁸ κατέβαλε

¹ προήκοντας Leuncl., προσήκοντας LM.² ἐγνώρισέ Leuncl., ἐγνώρισθαι LM.³ εἶπε Leuncl., εἰπόντος LM. ⁴ Οὐιβίου Xyl., υἱοῦ LM.⁵ ἡμέρας R. Steph., ἡμεραῖς LM.⁶ βουλευσασθαί Bk., βουλευσαί LM.⁷ ὄντα R. Steph., ὄντι LM. ⁸ ἀνετεθείκει Bk., ἀντίθει LM.

show how the Romans of that period respected men B.C. 44
 who were prominent through merit and hated those
 who behaved insolently, even in the smallest matters.
 This Servilius, it seems, had once while walking met
 on the road a man on horseback, who, so far from
 dismounting at his approach, galloped right on.
 Later he recognized the fellow in a defendant in
 court, and when he mentioned the incident to the
 jurors, they gave the man no further hearing, but
 unanimously condemned him.

In the consulship of Aulus Hirtius and Gaius B.C. 43
 Vibius (for Vibius was now appointed consul in spite
 of the fact that his father's name had been posted
 on the tablets of Sulla) a meeting of the senate was
 held and opinions expressed for three successive
 days, including the very first day of the year. For
 because of the war which was upon them and the
 portents, very numerous and unfavourable, which
 took place, they were so excited that they failed to
 observe even the *dies nefasti* and to refrain on those
 days from deliberating about any of their interests.
 Vast numbers of thunderbolts had fallen, some of
 them descending on the shrine of Capitoline Jupiter
 which stood in the temple of Victory; also a mighty
 windstorm occurred which snapped off and scattered
 the tablets¹ erected about the temple of Saturn
 and the shrine of Fides and also overturned and
 shattered the statue of Minerva the Protectress,
 which Cicero had set up on the Capitol before his

¹ i.e., the bronze tablets containing laws, etc.

- 4 καὶ κατέθραυσε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ
Κικέρωνι τὸν ὄλεθρον προεδήλωσε· τοὺς δὲ
ἄλλους ἐκεῖνά τε ἐτάραττε καὶ σεισμὸς μέγας
γενόμενος, ταῦτός τε τις τυθείς τε δι' αὐτὸν¹
ἐν² τῷ Ἑστιαίῳ³ καὶ ἀναπηδήσας μετὰ τὴν
ἱεουργίαν. πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις τοιοῦτοις οὖσι
λαμπὰς ἀπ' ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου πρὸς δυσμὰς
διέδραμε, καὶ τις ἀστὴρ καινὸς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας
5 ὥφθη. τό τε φῶς τοῦ ἡλίου ἐλαττοῦσθαι τε καὶ
σβέννυσθαι, τοτὲ⁴ δὲ ἐν τρισὶ κύκλοις φαντά-
ζεσθαι ἐδόκει, καὶ ἓνα γε αὐτῶν στέφανος
σταχύων πυρώδης περιέσχεν,⁵ ὥστ' εἴπερ⁶ τι
ἄλλο, καὶ τοῦτο ἐναργέστατα αὐτοῖς ἐκβῆναι· οἳ
τε γὰρ ἄνδρες οἱ τρεῖς ἐδυνάστευον, λέγω δὲ τὸν
Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον καὶ τὸν Ἀντωνίου, καὶ
ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν νίκην ἔλαβεν.
6 τότε δ' οὖν ταῦτά τε ἐγένετο, καὶ λόγια πρὸς
κατάλυσιν τῆς δημοκρατίας φέροντα παντοῖα
ῆδετο. κόρακές τε ἐς τὸ Διοσκόρειον⁷ ἐσπετόμενοι
τὰ τῶν ὑπάτων τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ Δοῦλο-
βέλλου ὀνόματα, ἐνταῦθά που ἐν πινακίῳ ἐγγε-
7 γραμμένα, ἐξεκόλαψαν. καὶ κύνες πολλοὶ νυκτὸς
κατὰ τε τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν καὶ πρὸς τῇ τοῦ
ἀρχιερέως τοῦ Λεπίδου οἰκίᾳ μάλιστα συστρεφό-
μενοι ὠρύοντο. ὃ τε Ἡριδανὸς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς
πέριξ γῆς πελαγίσας ἐξαίφνης ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ
παμπληθεῖς ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ ὄφεις ἐγκατέλιπε. καὶ
ἰχθὺς ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀμύθητοι κατὰ τὰς τοῦ

¹ αὐτὸν Rk., αὐτῶν LM. ² ἐν R. Steph., ἐς LM.

³ Ἑστιαίῳ R. Steph., ἐστιδίῳ LM. ⁴ τοτὲ Xiph., τότε LM.

⁵ περιέσχεν Xiph., περιέσχον LM.

⁶ ὥστ' εἴπερ Rk., ὥσπερ LM.

⁷ Διοσκόρειον Dind., διοςκούρειον LM.

exile. This, now, also portended death to Cicero himself. Another thing that frightened the rest of the population was a great earthquake which occurred, and the fact that a bull which was being sacrificed on account of it in the temple of Vesta leaped up after the ceremony. In addition to these omens, clear as they were, a flash darted across from the east to the west and a new star was seen for several days. Then the light of the sun seemed to be diminished and even extinguished, and at times to appear in three circles, one of which was surmounted by a fiery crown of sheaves. This came true for them as clearly as ever any prophecy did. For the three men were in power,—I mean Caesar, Lepidus and Antony,—and of these Caesar subsequently secured the victory. At the same time that these things occurred all sorts of oracles foreshadowing the downfall of the republic were recited. Crows, moreover, flew into the temple of Castor and Pollux and pecked out the names of the consuls, Antony and Dolabella, which were inscribed there somewhere on a tablet. And by night dogs would gather together in large numbers throughout the city and especially near the house of the high priest, Lepidus, and howl. Again, the Po, which had flooded a large portion of the surrounding territory, suddenly receded and left behind on the dry land a vast number of snakes; and countless fish were cast up from the sea on the shore near the

- Τιβέριδος ἐκβολὰς ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἐξέπεσον.
 8 ἐπεγένετο μὲν οὖν καὶ λοιμὸς¹ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πάσῃ
 ὡς εἰπεῖν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἰσχυρός, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τό τε
 βουλευτήριον τὸ Ὀστίλιον ἀνοικοδομηθῆναι καὶ
 τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγεγόνει συγχωσθῆναι
 ἐψηφίσθη· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐνταῦθα στήσεσθαι τὸ
 9 δεινὸν ἐδόκει, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦ Οὐιβίου²
 τὰ ἐσιτήρια³ τῇ νουμηνίᾳ θύοντος ῥαβδούχος τις
 αὐτοῦ ἔπεσεν ἐξαίφνης καὶ ἀπέθανεν. διὰ μὲν
 οὖν ταῦτα καὶ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐβουλεύ-
 σαντό τε, καὶ εἶπον ἄλλοι τε ἐφ' ἐκάτερα πολλοὶ
 καὶ ὁ Κικέρων ὧδε·
 18 “Ὡν μὲν ἕνεκα τὴν ἀποδημίαν, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ
 πλείστον ἐκδημήσω, ἐστείλामην, καὶ διὰ σπουδῆς
 τὴν ἐπάνοδον, ὡς καὶ πολλὰ ὑμᾶς ὠφελήσω,
 ἐποιησάμην, ἠκούσατε πρῶην, ὦ πατέρες, ὅθ'
 2 ὑμῖν περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ἀπελογησάμην. οὔτε
 γὰρ ἐν δυναστείᾳ καὶ τυραννίδι ζῆν ὑπομείναιμ' ἂν,
 ἐν ᾗ μήτε πολιτεύσασθαι ὀρθῶς⁴ μήτε παρρησιάσ-
 ασθαι ἀσφαλῶς μήτε τελευτῆσαι χρησίμως ὑμῖν
 δύναμαι, οὔτ' αὖ παρὸν τῶν δεόντων τι⁵ πράξαι,
 κατοκνήσαιμ' ἂν καὶ μετὰ κινδύνου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.
 3 νομίζω γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ὁμοίως ἔργον εἶναι
 τοῖς τε τῆς πατρίδος συμφέρουσι τηρεῖν ἑαυτόν,
 φυλαττόμενον μὴ μάτην ἀπόληται, καὶ τούτῳ
 μηδὲν ἐλλείπειν τῶν προσηκόντων μήτε λέγοντα
 μήτε πράττοντα, καὶ ἄρα τι καὶ παθεῖν σῶζοντα
 αὐτὴν ἀναγκαῖον ἦ.

¹ λοιμὸς v. Herw., ὁ λοιμὸς LM.

² Οὐιβίου Xyl., ἰουλίου LM.

³ ἐσιτήρια Xyl., ἐσητήρια LM.

⁴ ὀρθῶς supplied by Bk.

⁵ παρὸν τῶν δεόντων τι R. Ste h., παρόντων δέοντι M, παρα-
 σθέντων δέοντι L.

mouths of the Tiber. Succeeding these terrors a B C. 43 terrible plague spread over nearly all Italy, because of which the senate voted that the Curia Hostilia¹ should be rebuilt and that the spot where the naval battle had taken place² should be filled up. However, the curse did not appear disposed to rest even then, especially since, when Vibius was conducting the opening sacrifices on the first day of the year, one of his lictors suddenly fell down and died. Because of these events they took counsel during those days, and among the various men who spoke on one side or the other Cicero addressed them as follows:

"You have heard recently, Conscript Fathers, when I made a statement to you about the matter, why I made preparations for my departure, thinking that I should be absent from the city for a long time, and then hastily returned, with the idea that I should benefit you greatly. For I could not, on the one hand, endure to live under a monarchy or a tyranny, since under such a government I cannot live rightly as a free citizen nor speak my mind safely nor die in a way that would be of service to you; and yet, on the other hand, if opportunity should be afforded to perform any necessary service, I would not shrink from doing it, though it involved danger. For I deem it the business of an upright man equally to keep himself safe in his country's interest, taking care that he may not perish uselessly, and at the same time not to fail in any duty either of speech or of action, even if it be necessary to suffer some harm while saving his country.

¹ Cf. xl. 50.

² Cf. xlii. 23, 4.

- 19 “Οὕτω δὴ τούτων ἐχόντων ἦν μὲν που πολλή
 καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἔμοι καὶ ὑμῖν
 ἀσφάλεια πρὸς τὸ τὰ δέοντα βουλευσασθαι· ἐπεὶ
 δὲ καὶ μετὰ φρουρᾶς συνελθεῖν ἐψηφίσασθε,
 πάνθ’ ἡμᾶς οὕτω δεῖ¹ καὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ πράξαι
 τήμερον ὥστε καὶ τὰ παρόντα καταστήσασθαι
 καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος προιδέσθαι, μὴ² καὶ αὖθις
 2 ἀναγκασθῶμεν ὁμοίως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διαγινῶναι.
 ὅτι μὲν οὖν³ χαλεπὰ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ πολλῆς ἐπι-
 μελείας καὶ φροντίδος δεόμενα τὰ πράγματα
 ἡμῶν ἐστί, καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ δηλόν, εἰ καὶ ἐκ
 μηδεὸς ἄλλου, ἀλλ’ οὖν ἐκ τούτου γε πεποιή-
 κατε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐψηφίσασθε φυλακὴν τοῦ
 βουλευτηρίου σχεῖν, εἴγε ἐξῆν ὑμῖν ἔν. τε⁴ τῷ
 εἰωθότι κόσμῳ καὶ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἀδεῶς τι βουλευσα-
 3 σθαι.⁵ δεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς καὶ διὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας
 τοὺς παρόντας ἀξιόλογόν τι πράξαι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ
 αἰσχύνην ὀφλωμεν, αἰτήσαντες μὲν αὐτοὺς ὥς καὶ
 φοβούμενοί τινας, ἀμελήσαντες δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων
 ὥς ἐν οὐδενὶ δεινῷ καθεστηκότες, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν
 σφας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπ’ Ἀυτῶνιον προσει-
 4 ληφότες, ἔργῳ δ’ ἐκείνῳ καθ’ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν
 δεδοκότες, ὥσπερ δέον αὐτόν, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις
 στρατεύμασιν ἅ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος συγκροτεῖ,
 καὶ αὐτοὺς τούτους προσλαβεῖν, ἵνα μηδὲν μηδὲ
 τήμερον κατ’ αὐτοῦ ψηφίσῃσθε.
- 20 “Καίτοι τινὲς ἐς τοῦτ’ ἀναιδεΐας ἐληλύθασιν
 ὥστε τολμᾶν λέγειν ὥς οὐ πολεμεῖ τῇ πόλει, καὶ
 τοσαύτην γε εὐήθειαν ὑμῶν κατεγνώκασιν ὥστε

¹ δεῖ L, δὴ M. ² μὴ Rk, ὥστε μὴ LM.

³ οὖν supplied by Rk. ⁴ τε Rk., γε LM.

⁵ βουλευσασθαι Bk., βουλευσθαι LM.

"This being the case, although a large measure of safety was afforded even by Caesar both to you and to me for the discussion of pressing questions, yet since you have further voted to assemble under guard, we must frame all our words and acts this day in such a fashion as to settle the present difficulties and to provide for the future, that we may not again be compelled to decide in a similar way about them. Now that our situation is difficult and dangerous and requires much care and thought, you yourselves have made evident, if in no other way, at least by this measure; for you would not have voted to keep the senate-house under guard, if it had been possible for you to deliberate without fear in accordance with your accustomed good order and in quiet. We must also accomplish something of importance by very reason of the soldiers who are here, so that we may not incur the disgrace that would certainly follow from asking for them as if we feared somebody, and then neglecting affairs as if we were liable to no danger. We should then appear to have acquired them only nominally on behalf of the city against Antony, but in reality to have given them to him to be used against ourselves, and it would look as if in addition to the other legions which he is gathering against his country he needed to acquire these very men also, in order that you might not pass any vote against him even to-day.

"Yet some have reached such a point of shamelessness as to dare to say that he is not warring against the state, and have credited you with a simplicity

- καὶ νομίζειν τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ¹ ἑαυτῶν πείσειν ὑμᾶς
² προσέχειν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἐκείνου. καὶ
 τίς ἂν ἀφείς τὸ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ σκοπεῖν, καὶ
 τὴν στρατείαν ἣν ἐπὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἡμῶν μήτε
 τῆς βουλῆς μήτε τοῦ δήμου προστάξαντος πεποιή-
 ται, καὶ τὰς χώρας ἃς κατατρέχει, καὶ τὰς πόλεις
 ἃς πολιορκεῖ, καὶ τὰς ἀπειλάς ἃς πᾶσιν ἡμῖν
 ἀπειλεῖ, καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐφ' αἷς ἅπαντα ταῦτα
 ποιεῖ, τοῖς τε ῥήμασι τοῖς τούτων καὶ ταῖς ψευδο-
 λογίαις αἷς ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς, σκήψεις καὶ
 προφάσεις λέγοντες, ἐβελήσειε πεισθεὶς ἀπολέ-
³ σθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ τοσούτου δέω ταῦτα ποιούντα
 αὐτὸν ἐννομόν τι καὶ πολιτικόν ² πρᾶγμα φάναι
 πράττειν, ὥστε καὶ ὅτι τὴν τῆς Μακεδονίας
 ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου προσταχθείσαν αὐτῷ
 κατέλιπε, καὶ ὅτι τὴν τῆς Γαλατίας ἀρχὴν τὴν
⁴ μὴδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν ἀνθείλετο, καὶ ὅτι
 στρατεύματα ἃ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους
 προύπεμψε, συλλαβὼν περὶ αὐτόν, μὴδενὸς ἐν τῇ
 Ἰταλίᾳ δεινοῦ ὄντος, ἔχει, καὶ ὅτι τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῷ
 τῆς ὑπατείας χρόνῳ ἐκλιπὼν περιέρχεται ³ τὴν
 χώραν πορθῶν καὶ λυμαινόμενος, πάλαι φημὶ
²¹ πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἁπάντων ἡμῶν εἶναι. εἰ δὲ μὴ
 παραχρῆμα τότε ἡσθάνεσθε μὴδὲ ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ
 αὐτῶν ἡγανακτεῖτε, ἐκεῖνον μὲν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ⁴ ἔτι
 μᾶλλον μισεῖν ἄξιόν ἐστιν, ὅτι τοιούτους ὄντας
 ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν οὐ παύεται, καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν ἴσως
 συγγνώμης ἐφ' οἷς τὸ πρῶτον ἡμαρτε τυχεῖν, ἐς
 τοσούτο τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς πονηρίας προελήλυθεν

¹ τοῖς supplied by Dind. ² πολιτικόν Hug, παντὶ κακὸν LM.

³ περιέρχεται Rk., ἐκπεριέρχεται LM.

⁴ τοῦτο Bk., ταῦτα LM.

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so great as to think that they will persuade you to pay heed to their words rather than to his acts. But who would choose to shut his eyes to his acts and the campaign he has made against our allies without any orders from the senate or the people, the countries he is overrunning, the cities he is besieging, the threats he is hurling against us all, and the hopes with which he is doing all this, and would choose instead to believe, to his own ruin, the words of these men and their false statements, by which they put you off with pretexts and excuses? I, for my part, do not admit that in doing this he is acting legally or constitutionally. Far from it he abandoned the province of Macedonia, which had been assigned to him by lot, chose instead the province of Gaul, which did not belong to him at all, assumed control of the legions which Caesar had sent ahead against the Parthians and keeps them about him, though no danger threatens Italy, and after leaving the city during the period of his consulship now goes about pillaging and ruining the country; for these reasons I declare that he has long been an enemy of us all. And if you did not perceive it immediately at the outset or feel indignation at each of his actions, he deserves to be hated all the more on that very account, in that he does not stop injuring you who are so long-suffering. He might perchance have obtained pardon for the errors which he committed at first, but now by his persistence in them he has reached such a pitch of knavery that he ought to be brought

B.C. 48

- ὥστε καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων χρήναι δίκην ὑποσχεῖν.
 2 ὑμῖν δὲ ἐς ὑπερβολὴν ἐπιμελητέον ἐστὶ τῶν
 πραγμάτων, ὁρῶσι καὶ λογιζομένοις τοῦθ', ὅτι τὸν
 τοσαυτάκις ὑμῶν ἐν τοσούτοις πράγμασι κατα-
 πεφρονηκότα ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἐκούσιον ὑπὸ τε τῆς
 αὐτῆς ἐπιεικειᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς φιλανθρωπίας
 ὑμῶν σωφρονισθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καὶ ἄκουτα
 νῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, τοῖς ὅπλοις κολασθῆναι.¹
- 22 "Μὴ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ψηφίσασθαι τινα αὐτῷ τὰ
 μὲν ἀνέπεισεν ὑμᾶς² τὰ δὲ ἐξεβιάσατο, ἡττόν τι
 παρὰ τοῦτο ἀδικεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλάττονος διὰ τοῦτο
 2 ἄξιον τιμωρίας εἶναι νομίσητε. πᾶν γὰρ τοῦ-
 ναντίον καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τούτου μάλιστα δίκην
 ὀφείλει δοῦναι, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ προελόμενος
 δρᾶσαι δι' ὑμῶν τέ τινα αὐτῶν ἐποίησατο, καὶ
 ταῖς παρ' ὑμῶν ἀφορμαῖς, ἃς οὔτε εἰδότας οὔτε
 προορωμένους τι τοιοῦτον ἐξαπατήσας ἠνάγκασεν
 αὐτῷ ψηφίσασθαι, ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπεχρήσατο.
- 3 ποῦ γὰρ ἂν ἐκόντες ὑμεῖς τὰς μὲν παρὰ τῷ
 Καίσαρος ἢ καὶ τοῦ κλήρου δοθείσας ἐκάστοις
 ἡγεμονίας κατελύσατε, τούτῳ δὲ ἐπετρέψατε τὰ τε
 ἄλλα πολλὰ τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροις διαδοῦναι,
 καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν Μακεδονίαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Γάιον
 πέμψαι, τὴν δὲ δὴ Γαλατίαν ἑαυτῷ μετὰ τῶν
 στρατευμάτων, οἷς οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν χρήσασθαι
 4 εἶχε, προστάξει;³ ἢ οὐ μέμνησθε ὅπως⁴ ταραττο-
 μένους ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος τελευτῇ λαβὼν
 πάνθ' ὅσα ἡβουλήθη διεπράξατο, τὰ μὲν ἐπι-
 κοινῶν ὑμῖν ὑποούλως καὶ⁵ ἀκαίρως, τὰ δὲ αὐτὸς

¹ κολασθῆναι Bk., κωλυθῆναι LM.² ὑμᾶς R. Steph., ἡμᾶς LM.³ προστάξει R. Steph., προστάξας LM.⁴ ὅπως added by R. Steph. ⁵ καὶ added by R. Steph.

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to book for his former offences as well. And you ought to be excessively careful in regard to the situation, when you see this and ponder it—that the man who has so often despised you in matters so weighty cannot, as he would like, be corrected by the same gentleness and kindness as you have shown before, but must now, even though never before, be chastised, quite against his will, by force of arms. B. C. 47

“And do not, because he partly persuaded and partly compelled you to vote him certain privileges, imagine that this makes him less guilty or deserving of less punishment. Quite the reverse: for this very procedure he particularly deserves to be punished, because, after determining beforehand to commit many outrages, he not only accomplished some of them through you, but also employed against you yourselves the resources which came from you, which by deception he forced you to vote to him when you neither realised nor foresaw anything of the sort. For after you had abrogated of your own free will the positions of command assigned by Caesar or by the lot to each man, would you ever have allowed this fellow to distribute numerous appointments to his friends and companions, sending his brother Gaius to Macedonia, and assigning to himself Gaul together with the legions, which he had no occasion to use in your defence? Do you not recall how, when he found you in consternation over Caesar’s death, he carried out all the schemes that he chose, communicating some to you carefully dissimulated and at inopportune moments, and executing others on his own responsibility, thus adding villainy to

his deception, while all his acts were accomplished by violence? At least he employed soldiers, and barbarians, too, against you. And need any one be surprised that in those days an occasional vote was passed which should not have been passed, when even now we have not obtained freedom to say and do anything that is needful in any other way than by the aid of a body-guard? If we had then been encompassed by this guard, he would not have obtained what some one may say he has obtained, nor would he have risen thereby to power and have done the deeds that followed. Accordingly, let no one retort that the rights which at his command and under compulsion and amid laments we had the appearance of giving him were legally and rightfully bestowed. For even in private business that is not observed as binding which a man does under compulsion from another.

“And yet all these measures which you may seem to have voted you will find to be unimportant and differing but little from established custom. What was there so serious in the fact that one man was destined to govern Macedonia or Gaul instead of another? Or what was the harm if a man obtained soldiers during his consulship? But these are the things that are harmful and abominable,—that our land should be ravaged, the allied cities besieged, our soldiers armed against us, and our wealth expended to our detriment; this you neither voted nor would ever have voted. Do not, then, merely because you have granted him certain privileges, allow him to usurp what was not granted him; and do not imagine that, because you have conceded certain points, he ought therefore to be permitted to do

θέντα αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ἐξεῖναι. πᾶν γὰρ τούναντίον
καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ μισεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι
αὐτὸν ὀφείλετε, ὅτι καὶ τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τῇ φιλαν-
θρωπίᾳ τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐν τούτοις μόνοις ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι καθ' ὑμῶν ἐτόλμησε
4 χρήσασθαι. σκοπεῖτε δέ· ἐψηφίσασθε τὴν τε
εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους,
ἐμοὶ¹ πεισθέντες. ταύτην οὗτος πρυτανεύσαι
κελευσθεὶς οὕτω διῆχε² πρόφασιν τὴν τοῦ
Καίσαρος ταφὴν ποιησάμενος, ὥστε πᾶσαν μὲν
τὴν πόλιν ὀλίγου καταπρησθῆναι, παμπόλλους δέ
5 αὖθις φονευθῆναι. ἐβεβαιώσατε πάντα τὰ
δοθέντα τισὶ καὶ νομοθετηθέντα πρὸς τοῦ
Καίσαρος, οὐχ ὡς καλῶς πάντ' ἔχοντα (πολλοὺ
γε καὶ δεῖ), ἀλλ' ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτῶν μετακινήσθαι
συνέφερεν, ὅπως ἀνυπόπτως χωρὶς ὑποούλου τινὸς
ἀλλήλοις συνῶμεν. τούτων ἐξεταστῆς οὗτος
γενόμενος πολλὰ μὲν τῶν πραχθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
καταλέλυκε, πολλὰ δὲ ἕτερα ἀντεγγέγραφε.³
6 καὶ γὰρ χώρας καὶ πολιτείας καὶ ἀτελείας καὶ
ἄλλας τινὰς τιμὰς τοὺς τε ἔχοντας ἀφήρηται,
καὶ ἰδιώτας καὶ βασιλέας καὶ πόλεις, καὶ τοῖς μὴ
λαβοῦσι δέδωκε, παραποισάμενος⁴ τὰ τοῦ
Καίσαρος ὑπομνήματα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν μηδὲν
ἐθελήσαντας αὐτῷ προίεσθαι καὶ τὰ δοθέντα
αὐτοῖς ἀφελόμενος, τοῖς δ' ὠνητιάσασι⁵ καὶ
7 ἐκεῖνα καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα πωλήσας. καίπερ
ὑμεῖς αὐτὰ ταῦτα προρῳόμενοι ἐψηφίσασθε
μηδεμίαν στήλην μετὰ τον τοῦ Καίσαρος θάνατον,

¹ ἐμοὶ Rk., καὶ ἐμοὶ LM.² διῆχε Bk., διῆγε LM.³ ἀντεγγέγραφε Pflugk, ἀντενέγραφε LM.⁴ παραποισάμενος R. Steph., παραποισαμένους LM.⁵ ὠνητιάσασι Dindl., ὦν ἡτιτιάσασι LM.

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what has not been conceded. Quite the reverse : B C 48
 you should for this very reason both hate and punish him, because he has dared not only in this case but in all other cases to use against you the honour and kindness you have bestowed. Consider a moment. Through my influence you voted that there should be peace and harmony amongst you. This man, when he was ordered to manage the business, performed it in such a way, taking Caesar's funeral as a pretext, that almost the whole city was burned down and once more great numbers were slaughtered. You ratified all the grants made to various persons and all the laws laid down by Caesar, not because they were all excellent—far from it!—but because it was inadvisable to make any change in them, if we were to live together free from suspicion and without malice. This man, appointed to examine into Caesar's acts, has abolished many of them and has substituted many others in the documents. He has taken away lands and citizenship and exemption from taxes and many other honours from their possessors, whether private persons, kings, or cities, and has given them to men who did not receive them, by altering the memoranda of Caesar; from those who were unwilling to give up anything to his grasp he took away even what had been given them, and sold this and everything else to such as wished to buy. Yet you, foreseeing this very possibility, had voted that no tablet should be set up after Caesar's death

- ὥς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου τῷ¹ δεδομένον τι ἔχουσιν, στήναι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὥς² πολὺ τοῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἔλεγεν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναί τινα τῶν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τοῖς τοῦ³ Καίσαρος εὐρεθέντων ἐκλεχθῆναι τε καὶπραχθῆναι, ὑμεῖς μὲν μετὰ τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν προσετάξατε αὐτῷ ταῦτα διαλέξαι, ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν φροντίσας, πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλετο μόνος καὶ περὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ περὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἃ μικρῷ πρόσθεν εἶπον ἐξεργάσατο.⁴ οὕτω που πάντα τὰ δοκούντα ὑμῖν ποιεῖν βούλεται.
- 24 “Ἄρ' οὖν ἐν τούτοις μόνον τοιοῦτος γέγονε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὀρθῶς διώκηκε; ποῦ; πόθεν; οὐ τὰ χρήματα τὰ κοινὰ τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιζητῆσαι καὶ ἀποδεῖξαι κελευσθεὶς ἤρπακε, καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῖς δανεισταῖς ἀποδέδωκε τὰ δὲ ἐς τρυφὴν κατανάλωκεν, ὥστε μηκέτ' αὐτῷ
- 2 μηδὲ τούτων τι περιεῖναι; οὐ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ δικτάτορος μισησάντων ὑμῶν διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου δυναστείαν καὶ παντελῶς ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐκβαλόντων, τοῦτο μὲν ὥσπερ τι αὐτὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀδικῆσαι δυνάμενον οὐκ ἐπιτίθεται, τὰ δὲ ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἐν τῷ τῆς
- 3 ὑπατείας προσρήματι ἐπιδέδεικται; οὐχ ὑμεῖς μὲν πρύτανιν αὐτὸν τῆς ὁμονοίας ἀπεδείξατε, οὗτος δὲ πόλεμον αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τηλικούτον, οὔτε προσήκοντα οὔτε ἐγνωσμένον, ἀνήρηται πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ Δέκιμον, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἐπαινεῖτε;
- 4 μυρία δ' ἂν εἴη λέγειν, εἴ τις ἐπεξείναι καθ'

¹ τῷ Bk., τῷ LM. ² ὥς Bk., οὕτως LM.³ τοῖς τοῦ Leuncl., τῶν τοῦ LM.⁴ ἐξεργάσατο St., ἐξαιρίσατο LM.

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purporting to contain any privilege granted by him to any one. Nevertheless, when it happened many times after that, and he claimed that it was necessary for some provisions found in Caesar's papers to be specially singled out and put into effect, you assigned to him, in company with the foremost men, the task of making such excerpts; but he, paying no attention to the others, carried out everything alone according to his wishes, in regard to the laws, the exiles, and the other matters which I enumerated a few moments ago. This, indeed, is the way he chooses to execute all your decrees. B. C. 43

“Has he, then, shown himself to be this sort of man only in these affairs, while managing the rest rightly? When or how? Though ordered to search out and produce the public moneys left behind by Caesar, has he not seized them, paying a part to his creditors and spending a part on high living, so that he no longer has any left even of this? Though you hated the name of dictator on account of Caesar's sovereignty and rejected it entirely from the state, has not Antony, even though he has avoided adopting it,—as if the name in itself could do any harm,—nevertheless exhibited a dictator's behaviour and his greed for gain under the title of the consulship? Though you assigned to him the duty of promoting harmony, has he not on his own responsibility begun this great war, neither necessary nor sanctioned, against Caesar and Decimus, whom you approve? Indeed, innumerable cases might be mentioned, if one wished to go into

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἕκαστον ἐθέλήσειεν ὧν ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐπετρέψατε
 αὐτῷ ὡς ὑπάτῳ διοικῆσαι, ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὐδ' ὅτι οὖν
 ἐς δέον ἔπραξε, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰναντία καθ'
 ὑμῶν τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐξουσίᾳ δοθείσῃ χρώμενος
 5 πεποίηκεν. ἄρ' οὖν ἐς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναδέξεσθε¹
 καὶ ταῦτα τὰ κακῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένα, καὶ
 αὐτοὶ πάντων σφῶν αἴτιοι γεγονέναι φήσετε, ὅτι
 τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ἐξετασμὸν αὐτῷ
 6 προσετάξατε; ἀλλὰ ἄτοπον. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν
 στρατηγὸς ἢ καὶ πρεσβευτής² τις αἰρεθεὶς μηδὲν
 τῶν δεόντων δράσῃ, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν ὑμεῖς οἱ
 πέμψαντες αὐτοὺς ἔξετε. καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴη δεινὸν
 εἰ πάντες οἱ προχειριζόμενοί τι πράξαι τὰ μὲν
 κέρδη καὶ τὰς τιμὰς αὐτοὶ λαμβάνοιεν, τὰ δὲ
 ἐγκλήματα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐφ' ὑμᾶς³ ἀναφέροιεν.
 25 οὐκ οὖν οὐδὲ τούτῳ προσέχειν προσήκει λέγοντι
 'ὑμεῖς γὰρ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἄρχειν ἐπετρέψατε,
 ὑμεῖς τὰ χρήματα τὰ κοινὰ διοικῆσαι ἐκέλευσατε,
 ὑμεῖς τὰ στρατεύματα τὰ⁴ ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας
 2 ἐδώκατε.' ἐψηφίσθη μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα οὕτως, εἴγε
 δεῖ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου δίκην
 παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν; ὅτι ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς⁵ ἠνάγκασε
 γινῶναι· οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τοὺς φυγάδας κατὰγειν,⁶
 οὐδὲ τὸ τοὺς νόμους παρεγγράφειν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰς
 πολιτείας καὶ τὰς ἀτελείας πωλεῖν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰ
 κοινὰ κλέπτειν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων
 ἀρπάζειν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰς πόλεις κακουργεῖν, οὐδὲ τὸ
 τῆς πατρίδος τυραννεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐδώκατέ ποτε
 3 αὐτῷ. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλῳ τινί, καίτοι πολλὰ

¹ ἀναδέξεσθε R. Steph., ἀναδέξασθε LM.

² πρεσβευτής R. Steph., πρεσβυτής LM.

³ ὑμᾶς R. Steph., ἡμᾶς LM. ⁴ τὰ supplied by Rk.

⁵ ὑμᾶς R. Steph., ἡμᾶς LM. ⁶ κατὰγειν M, καταγαγεῖν L.

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details, in which you have entrusted business to him to transact as consul, not a bit of which he has performed as the circumstances demanded, but has done quite the opposite, using against you the authority that you granted. Will you, then, take upon yourselves also these base acts that he has committed and say that you yourselves are responsible for all that has happened, because you assigned to him the management and investigation of the matters in question? How absurd! Why, if any one who had been chosen general or envoy should fail in every way to do his duty, you who sent him would not incur the blame for this. Indeed it would be a sorry state of affairs, if all who are elected to perform some task should themselves receive the advantages and the honours, but lay upon you the complaints and the blame. Accordingly, it is not fitting to pay any heed to him when he says, 'But it was you who permitted me to govern Gaul, you who ordered me to administer the public finances, you who gave me the legions from Macedonia.' It is true these measures were voted,—if, indeed, you ought to put it that way, and not, instead, exact punishment from him for his action in compelling you to pass the decree; yet surely you never at any time gave him the right to restore the exiles, to add laws surreptitiously, to sell the privileges of citizenship and of exemption from taxes, to steal the public funds, to plunder the possessions of the allies, to injure the cities, or to undertake to play the tyrant over his native country. In fact, you never

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πολλοῖς ψηφισάμενοι, συνεχωρήσατε ὅσα ἐβού-
 λοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίκην αἰεί ποτε παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων,
 ὅσων γε καὶ ἡδυνήθητε,¹ ἐλάβετε, ὥσπερ που καὶ
 παρ' αὐτοῦ τούτου λήψεσθε, ἄν γε ἐμοὶ νῦν
 4 πεισθῆτε. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνων
 τοιούτος γέγονεν ὁποῖον αὐτὸν ἴστε καὶ ἐοράκατε,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς ὅσα πώποτε πρὸς
 τὰ² κοινὰ προσελθὼν πέπραχε.

- 26 “Τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ βίον τὰς τε ἰδίας
 ἀσελγείας καὶ πλεονεξίας ἐκὼν παραλείψω, οὐχ
 ὅτι οὐχὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις εὔροι τις
 ἂν³ αὐτὸν πεπονηκότα, ἀλλ' ὅτι αἰδοῦμαι νῆ τὸν
 Ἑρακλέα ἀκριβῶς καθ' ἕκαστον, ἄλλως τε καὶ⁴
 2 πρὸς οὐδὲν ἡττον εἰδότας ὑμᾶς, λέγειν ὅπως μὲν
 τὴν ὥραν τὴν ἐν παισὶν⁵ ὑμῖν διέθετο, ὅπως δὲ
 τὴν ἀκμὴν τὴν ἐφ' ἥβης ἀπεκήρυξε, τὰς ἐταιρήσεις
 αὐτοῦ τὰς λαθραίας, τὰς πορνείας τὰς ἐμφανεῖς,
 ὅσα ἔπαθεν ἕως⁶ ἐνεδέχετο, ὅσα ἔδρασεν ἀφ'
 οὐπερ ἡδυνήθη, τοὺς κῶμους, τὰς μέθας, τὰλλα
 3 πάντα τὰ τούτοις ἐπόμενα. ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐστὶν
 ἄνθρωπον ἐν τε ἀσελγείᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀναισχυντίᾳ
 τοσαύτῃ τραφέντα μὴ οὐ πάντα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον
 μιᾶναι· ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων
 καὶ τὴν κιναιδίαν καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν προήγαγε.
 4 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω, καὶ νῆ Δία καὶ τὴν ἐς
 Αἴγυπτον αὐτοῦ πρὸς Γαβίνιον ἀποδημίαν, τὴν
 τε ἐς Γαλατίαν πρὸς Καίσαρα ἀπόδρασιν, ἵνα μὴ
 μέ τις φῇ πάντα ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι, αἰσχυνθεὶς
 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὅτι τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν ὄντα εἰδότες καὶ

¹ ἡδυνήθητε Dind., ἐδυνήθητε LM. ² τὰ M, τὸ L.

³ ἂν supplied by St. ⁴ καὶ supplied by Pflugk.

⁵ ἐν παισὶν R. Steph., ἐν ποσὶν L, ἐμποσιν M.

⁶ ἕως Bk., ὥς LM

conceded to any others all that they desired, though B.C. 43
 you have voted many privileges to many persons ;
 on the contrary, you have always punished such men
 so far as you could, as, indeed, you will also punish
 him, if you take my advice now. For it is not in
 these matters alone that he has shown himself to be
 such a man as you know and have seen him to be,
 but absolutely in all the undertakings which he has
 ever performed since entering public life.

“ His private life and his personal acts of licentiousness and avarice I shall willingly pass over, not because one would fail to discover that he had committed many dreadful deeds of this sort too, but because, by Hercules, I am ashamed to describe minutely and in detail, especially to you who know it as well as I, how he spent his youth among you who were boys at the time, how he sold to the highest bidder the vigour of his prime, his secret lapses from chastity, his open fornications, what he let be done to him as long as it was possible, what he did as early as he could, his revels, his drunken debauches, and all the rest that follows in their train. It is impossible for a person brought up in so great licentiousness and shamelessness to avoid defiling his entire life ; and so from his private life he brought his lewdness and greed into his public relations. I shall let this pass, then, and likewise, by Jupiter, his visit to Gabinius in Egypt and his flight to Caesar in Gaul, that I may not be charged with going minutely into every detail ; for I feel ashamed for you, that knowing him to be such a man, you

δήμαρχον καὶ ἵππαρχον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπατον ἀπεδείξατε· ἃ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἐπαρώνησε¹ καὶ ἐκακούργησε, μόνα νῦν ἐρῶ.

- 27 “Οὗτος τοίνυν δημαρχήσας πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάντων ἐκώλυσεν ὑμᾶς τὰ τότε περιστάντα πράγματα εὖ θέσθαι, βοῶν καὶ κεκραγῶς καὶ μόνος ἐξ ἀπάντων 2 ἐναντιούμενος τῇ κοινῇ τῆς πόλεως εἰρήνῃ, ἔπειτα δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐψηφίσασθε ‘δι’ αὐτὸν ἅπερ ἐψηφίσασθε, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέδρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκαταλιπών, ᾧ μηδεμίαν ἐκ τῶν νόμων νύκτα ἀποδημήσαι ἐξῆν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὅπλα αὐτομολήσας ἐκείνόν τε ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπήγαγε καὶ ὑμᾶς² ἔκ τε τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας ὅλης ἐξήλασε, καὶ ἐνὶ λόγῳ³ πάντων τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐμφυλίων τῶν μετὰ ταύθ’ ὑμῖν⁴ συμβάντων αἰτιώτατος ἐγένετο. 3 εἰ γὰρ μὴ τότε τοῖς βουλήμασιν ὑμῶν⁵ ἀντεπεπράχει, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ὁ Καῖσαρ οὔτε⁶ σκῆψιν οὐδεμίαν τῶν πολέμων εὐρήκει, οὔτε εἰ καὶ πᾶς μάλιστα ἀπηναισχύντει, δύναμιν γέ⁷ τινα ἀξιοχρεῶν παρὰ τὰ δόγματα ὑμῶν⁸ ἠθροίκει, ἀλλ’ ἦτοι ἐκὼν ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπήλλακτο⁹ ἢ καὶ 4 ἄκων ἐσεσωφρόνιστο. νῦν δὲ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ καὶ ἐκείνῳ τὰς προφάσεις ἐνδοὺς καὶ τὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀξίωμα καταλύσας, τό τε θράσος τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπαυξήσας· οὗτος ὁ τὸ σπέρμα τῶν κακῶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκφύντων ἐμβαλὼν, οὗτος ὁ κοινὸς ἀλιτῆριος οὐχ ἡμῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς

¹ ἐπαρώνησε St., παρώνησε LM. ² ὑμᾶς H. Steph., ἡμᾶς LM.

³ ἐνὶ λόγῳ Pflugk, ἐν ὀλίγῳ LM. ⁴ ὑμῖν R. Steph., ἡμῖν LM.

⁵ ὑμῶν R. Steph., ἡμῖν LM. ⁶ οὔτε Bk., οὗτος LM.

⁷ γέ Rk., τέ LM. ⁸ ὑμῶν R. Steph., ἡμῶν LM.

⁹ ἀπήλλακτο supplied by Bk.

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appointed him tribune and master of the horse and subsequently consul. But I shall at present mention only his acts of drunken insolence and of villainy in these very offices. B C. 48

“ Well, then, when he was tribune, he first of all prevented you from accomplishing satisfactorily the business you then had in hand, by shouting and bawling and alone of all the people opposing the public peace of the state, until you became vexed and because of his conduct passed the vote that you did. Then, though, as tribune, he was not permitted by law to absent himself for a single night, he ran away from the city, abandoning the duties of his office, and going as a deserter to Caesar’s camp, brought Caesar back against his country, drove you out of Rome and from all the rest of Italy, and, in short, became the prime cause of all the civil disorders that have since taken place among you. Had he not at that time acted contrary to your wishes, Caesar would never have found an excuse for the wars and could not, in spite of all his shamelessness, have gathered a sufficient force in defiance of your resolutions; but he would either have voluntarily laid down his arms or have been brought to his senses unwillingly. As it is, this fellow is the man who furnished Caesar with his excuses, who destroyed the prestige of the senate, who increased the audacity of the soldiers. He it is who planted the seeds of the evils which sprang up afterward; he it is who has proved the common bane, not only of us, but also of practically

οἰκουμένης ὀλίγου πάσης γενόμενος, ὥς που καὶ
 5 τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐναργῶς ἐσήμηνεν. ὅτε γοῦν τοὺς
 θαυμαστοὺς ἐκείνους νόμους ἐσέφερε, βροντῶν
 πάντα καὶ ἀστραπῶν ἐπληρώθη. ὧν οὐδὲν ὁ
 μιαρὸς οὗτος, καίπερ οἰωνιστῆς εἶναι λέγων,
 φροντίσας, κακῶν καὶ πολέμων,¹ ὥσπερ εἶπον,
 οὐ τὴν πόλιν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην
 ἐπλήρωσε.

“ Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν τί μεν δεῖ λέγειν ὥς ἐπ’
 ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον ἱππάρχησεν, ὃ μῆπω πρότερον
 28 ἐγεγόνει; τί δ’ ὅτι καὶ τότε μεθύων² τε ἐπαρῶναι
 καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τὴν κραιπάλην ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
 2 βήματος μεταξὺ δημηγορῶν ἐξήμει; τί δ’ ὅτι καὶ
 πόρνους καὶ πόρνas, καὶ γελωτοποιοὺς οὐχ ὅτι
 ἄνδρας ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκας, μετὰ τῶν ῥαβδούχων
 δαφνηφορούντων ἐπαγόμενος τὴν Ἰταλίαν περι-
 3 ἦει; τί δ’ ὅτι τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου οὐσίαν μόνος
 ἀνθρώπων ἀγοράσαι ἐτόλμησε, μήτε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ
 ἀξίωμα μήτε τὴν ἐκείνου μνήμην αἰδεσθεῖς, ἀλλ’
 ἐφ’ οἷς πάντες ἔτι καὶ τότε ἐθρηνούμεν, ταῦτα
 μεθ’ ἡδονῆς ἀρπάσας; καὶ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἐπ’
 ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπεπήδησεν ὥς μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν τιμὴν
 4 ἀποδώσων. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην μετὰ πάσης ὕβρεως
 καὶ βίας ἐσεπράχθη· οὕτως αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ
 κατέγων· καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσαπερ ἐκτήσατο, παμπληθῆ
 τε γενόμενα καὶ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἀργυρολογη-
 θέντα, κατακεκύβευκε καὶ καταπεπόρνευκε καὶ
 καταβέβρωκε καὶ καταπέπωκεν ὥσπερ ἡ Χάρυβδις.
 29 “ Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν³ ἐάσω· τὰς δὲ δὴ ὕβρεις
 αἷς τὸ κοινὸν ὕβρισε, καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς αἷς κατὰ

¹ πολέμων Dind.. πολλῶν LM.

² μεθύων Rk., μεθ’ ὕμων LM. ³ οὖν supplied by Schenkl.

the whole world, as, indeed, Heaven clearly indicated. B.C 48
 For when he proposed those astonishing laws, the whole city was filled with thunder and lightning. Yet this accursed fellow paid no attention to all this, though he claims to be an augur, but filled not only the city but also the whole world with evils and with wars, as I have said.

“ Now after this is there any need of mentioning that he served as master of the horse a whole year, something which had never before occurred? Or that during this period also he was drunk and maudlin and in the assemblies would frequently vomit the remains of yesterday’s debauch on the very rostra in the midst of his harangues? Or that he went about Italy at the head of pimps and prostitutes and buffoons, women as well as men, in the company of his lictors bearing their festoons of laurel? Or that he alone of all men dared to buy the estate of Pompey, having no regard for his own dignity or that great man’s memory, but grasping with delight these possessions over which we all even at that time lamented? Indeed, he fairly threw himself upon this and many other estates with the expectation of making no recompense for them. Yet the price was nevertheless exacted from him with every indignity and show of violence; so thoroughly did even Caesar condemn his course. And all that he has acquired, vast in extent and levied from every source, he has swallowed up in dicing, in harlotry, in feasting and in drinking, like a second Charybdis.

“ All this, now, I will omit, but regarding the insults which he offered to the state and the blood-

- πᾶσαν ὁμοίως τὴν πόλιν εἰργάσατο, πῶς ἂν
 τις σιωπήσειεν; ἢ οὐ μέμνησθε πῶς βαρὺς
 μὲν ὑμῶν καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ὄψει, βαρύτατος δὲ
 2 τοῖς ἔργοις ἐγένετο; ὅστις, ὦ γῇ καὶ θεοί, πρῶ-
 τον μὲν ἐτόλμησεν ἐνταῦθα, ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους, ἐν
 τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπιτω-
 λίῳ, τό τε ἔσθημα ἅμα τὸ περιπόρφυρον ἐνδύεσθαι
 καὶ ξίφος παραζώννυσθαι ῥαβδούχοις τε χρῆσθαι
 3 καὶ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν δορυφορεῖσθαι· ἔπειτα δυνη-
 θείς ἂν καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων θορύβους καταπαύ-
 σαι, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ὁμονοοῦντας ὑμᾶς ἐστασίασεν, τῇ μὲν αὐτὸς τῇ δὲ
 καὶ δι' ἐτέρων. καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἐν
 τῷ μέρει προσλαμβάνων, καὶ τότε μὲν συναιρό-
 μενός σφισι τότε δὲ ἐναντιούμενος,¹ αἰτιώτατος
 μὲν ἐγένετο τοῦ² παμπληθεῖς σφῶν σφαγῆναι,
 4 αἰτιώτατος δὲ τοῦ μὴ πάντα τὰ τοῦ Πόντου τῶν
 τε Πάρθων εὐθὺς τότε ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ τοῦ Φαρνάκου
 νίκη χειρωθῆναι· πρὸς γάρ τοι τὰ πραττόμενα
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεῦρο διὰ ταχέων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπειχθεῖς
 οὐδὲν ἐκείνων, ὥς γε³ καὶ ἡδυνήθη, παντελῶς
 κατεργάσατο.
- 30 “ Καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα μέντοι αὐτὸν ἐσωφρόνισεν, ἀλλ’
 ὑπατεύσας γυμνός, ὦ πατέρες, γυμνός καὶ μεμυρισ-
 μένος ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσῆλθε, πρόφασιν τὰ
 Λυκαῖα ποιησάμενος, κἀνταῦθα πρὸς τὸ βῆμα
 μετὰ τῶν ῥαβδούχων προσῆλθε, καὶ ἐκεῖ κάτωθεν
 2 ἐδημηγόρησεν· ὅπερ, ἀφ’ οὗ γέγονεν ἡ πόλις,
 οὐδένα ἄλλον οὐχ ὅτι ὑπατον ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ στρατηγὸν
 οὐδὲ δῆμαρχον οὐδ’ ἀγορανόμον οὐδεὶς οἶδε πε-

¹ σφισι τότε δὲ ἐναντιούμενος supplied by Bk.² τοῦ supplied by Bk. ³ γε Rk, τε LM.

BOOK XLV

shed which he caused throughout the whole city alike B.C. 43
how could any man remain silent? Do you not recall how oppressive the very sight of him was to you, but most of all his deeds? Why, merciful heavens, he first dared, within the city walls, in the Forum, in the senate-house, on the Capitol, at one and the same time to array himself in the purple-bordered robe and to gird on a sword, to employ lictors and to have a body-guard of soldiers.¹ Then, when he might have checked the turmoil of the others, he not only failed to do so, but even set you at variance when you were harmonious, partly by his own acts and partly with the aid of others. Nay more, he took up those very factions in turn, and by now assisting them and now opposing them was chiefly responsible for great numbers of them being slain and for the fact that the whole region of Pontus and Parthia was not subdued at that time immediately after the victory over Pharnaces. For Caesar, hastening hither with all speed to see what he was doing, did not entirely complete any of those projects, as he certainly might have done.

“And even this result did not sober him, but when he was consul he came naked—naked, Conscript Fathers—and anointed into the Forum, taking the Lupercalia as an excuse, then proceeded in company with his lictors toward the rostra, and there harangued us while standing below. Why, from the day the city was founded no one can point to any one else, even a praetor, or tribune, or aedile, much less a

¹ Cf. xlii. 27, 2; xlv. 16, 5.

- ποιηκότα. τὰ γὰρ Λυκαῖα ἦν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐταιρικοῦ τοῦ Ἰουλίου ἐτέτακτο· ταῦτα γὰρ ὁ Σέξτος αὐτὸν ὁ Κλώδιος τῶν δισχιλίων πλέθρων τῶν ἐν
- 3 τῇ Λεοντίνων γῇ δοθέντων ἐξεπαίδευσεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπάτεες, ὧς χρηστέ (ἐρῶ γὰρ ὡς πρὸς παρόντα σε), καὶ οὔτε ἔπρεπέ σοι οὔτε ἐξῆν τοιούτῳ ὄντι ἐν¹ τῇ ἀγορᾷ πρὸς τῷ βήματι, πάντων ἡμῶν παρόντων, τοιαῦτ' εἰπεῖν, ἵν' ἅμα τε τὸ θανμαστόν σου σῶμα καὶ εὐσαρκον καὶ βδελυρὸν θεωρώμεν, καὶ τῆς μιαρᾶς σου φωνῆς τῆς μεμυρισ-
- 4 μένης τὰ δεινὰ ἐκεῖνα λεγούσης ἀκούωμεν· τοῦτο γὰρ περὶ τοῦ στόματός σου μᾶλλον ἢ τι ἑτερόν εἰπεῖν βούλομαι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ Λυκαῖα καὶ ἄλλως ἂν τῆς προσηκούσης θρησκείας οὐκ ἀπέτυχε,² σὺ δὲ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν πόλιν κατήσχυνας, ἵνα μηδὲν
- 5 μηδέπω περὶ τῶν τότε λεχθέντων εἴπω· τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι ἡ ὑπατεία δημοσία τοῦ δήμου παντός ἐστι, καὶ δεῖ τὸ ἀξίωμα αὐτῆς πανταχοῦ σώζεσθαι καὶ μηδαμοῦ μήτε γυμνούσθαι μήτ'
- 31 ὑβρίζεσθαι. τάχα γ' ἂν οὗτος ἢ τὸν Ὀράτιον τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκείνου ἢ καὶ τὴν Κλοιλίαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐμιμήσατο, ὧν ἡ μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα πᾶσαν ἐνδεδουκυῖα τὸν ποταμὸν διενήξατο, ὁ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὀπλων ἐς τὸ ῥεῦμα ἑαυτὸν ἐνέβαλεν. ἀξιὸν γε (οὐ γάρ;) καὶ τούτου τινὰ εἰκόνα στήσαι, ἵν' ὁ μὲν καὶ ἐν τῷ Τιβερίδι ὠπλισμένος, ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ γυμνός
- 2 ὀρώτο. καὶ γὰρ τοι διὰ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἔσωζον καὶ ἡλευθέρουν, οὗτος δὲ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν, ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἦν, ἀφείλετο,

¹ ἐν supplied by Xyl.² οὐκ ἀπέτυχε Bs., οὐκ ἔτυχε LM.

BOOK XLV

consul, who ever did such a thing. But it was the Lupercalia, you will say, and he had been put in charge of the Julian College.¹ Of course, though, it was Sextus Clodius who had trained him to conduct himself so, in return for the two thousand plethra of the land of Leontini.² But you were consul, my fine fellow,—for I will address you as though you were present,—and it was neither proper nor permissible for you as such to speak thus in the Forum, hard by the rostra, with all of us present, and to cause us not only to behold your wonderful body, so plump and detestable, but also to hear your accursed voice, dripping with unguents, uttering those outrageous words,—for I wish to speak of this matter of your mouth rather than anything else. The Lupercalia would not have failed of its proper reverence without this; but you disgraced the whole city at once,—to say nothing as yet about your remarks on that occasion. For who does not know that the consulship is public, the property of the whole people, that its dignity must be preserved everywhere, and that its holder must nowhere strip naked or behave wantonly? Perchance he was imitating the famous Horatius of old or Cloelia of bygone days; yet the latter swam across the river with all her clothing on, and the former cast himself with his armour into the flood. It would be fitting, would it not, to set up a statue of Antony also, so that as the one man is seen armed even in the Tiber so the other might be seen naked even in the Forum. It was by such conduct as has been cited that those heroes of yore were wont to preserve us and give us liberty, while he took away all our liberty from us, so far as was in his power,

¹ Cf. xliv. 6 ² Cf. Cic. *Philipp.* ii. 4, 17, 34, 39; iii. 9.

- πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν δημοκρατίαν κατέλυσεν, καὶ δεσπό-
 την μὲν ἀντὶ ὑπάτου τύραννον δὲ ἀντὶ δικτά-
 τορος ἡμῖν ἀντικατέστησε.¹ μέμνησθε γὰρ οἷα
 μὲν προσελθὼν πρὸς τὸ βῆμα εἶπεν, οἷα δὲ ἀνα-
 3 βὰς ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἔπραξε. καίτοι ὅστις ἐτόλ-
 μησε, Ῥωμαῖός τε ὢν καὶ ὑπατεύων, βασιλέα
 τινὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ καὶ
 πρὸς τῷ βήματι τῷ ἐλευθερίῳ, παντὸς μὲν τοῦ
 δήμου πάσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς παρούσης ἀνειπεῖν,
 καὶ τό τε διάδημα εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ
 4 ἐπιθεῖναι, καὶ προσκαταψεύσασθαι πάντων ἡμῶν
 ἀκούοντων ὅτι αὐτοὶ ταῦτα αὐτῷ καὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ
 πρᾶξαι ἐπεσκήψαμεν, τί μὲν οὐκ ἂν τῶν δεινοτά-
 των τολμήσειε, τίνος δ' ἂν τῶν χαλεπωτάτων
 32 ἀπόσχοιτο; ἡμεῖς, ὦ Ἀντώνιε, ἡμεῖς σοι² ταῦτ'
 ἐνετεiléαμεθα, οἱ τοὺς Ταρκυνίους³ ἐξελάσαντες,
 οἱ τὸν Βρούτον ἀγαπήσαντες, οἱ τὸν Καπιτωλῖνον⁴
 κατακρημνίσαντες, οἱ τὸν Σπούριον ἀποκτείναντες;
 2 ἡμεῖς βασιλέα τινὰ ἀσπάσασθαί σε προσετάξα-
 μεν, οἱ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ
 προσέτι καὶ τὴν τοῦ δικτάτορος δι' ἐκείνην,
 ἐπάρατον ποιησάμενοι; ἡμεῖς τύραννόν τινα ἀπο-
 δεῖξαι σοι ἐκελεύσαμεν, οἱ τὸν Πύρρον ἐκ τῆς
 Ἰταλίας ἐκβαλόντες, οἱ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ὑπὲρ τὸν
 Ταῦρον ἀπελάσαντες, οἱ καὶ Μακεδονίαν τυραν-
 3 νουμένην παύσαντες; οὐ μὰ τὰς ῥάβδους τὰς
 Οὐαλερίου καὶ τὸν νόμον τὸν Πορκίου, οὐ μὰ τὸ
 σκέλος τὸ Ὀρατίου καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν Μουκίου, οὐ
 4 μὰ τὸ δόρυ τὸ Δεκίου καὶ τὸ ξίφος τὸ Βρούτου. σὺ

¹ ἀντικατέστησε M., ἀντεκατέστησε L.

² σοι M., οἱ L.

³ Ταρκυνίους R. Steph., ταρκυνίους LM.

⁴ Καπιτωλῖνον R. Steph., Καπιτόλιον LM.

BOOK XLV

destroyed the whole republic, and set up a despot B.C. 43
in place of a consul, a tyrant in place of a dictator
over us. For you recall the nature of his language
when he approached the rostra, and the manner
of his behaviour when he had mounted it. And
yet, when a man who is a Roman and a consul
has dared to name any one king of the Romans
in the Roman Forum, beside the rostra of liberty,
in the presence of the whole people and the
whole senate, and straightway to set the diadem
upon his head and further to affirm falsely in the
hearing of us all that we ourselves bade him say
and do this, what outrageous deed will that man
not dare, and from what terrible act will he re-
frain? Did *we* lay this injunction upon you, An-
tony, we who expelled the Tarquins, who cherished
Brutus, who hurled Capitolinus headlong, who put
Spurius to death? Did *we* order you to salute any
one as king, we who laid a curse upon the very
name of king and because of it upon that of dic-
tator as well? Did *we* command you to appoint
any one tyrant, we who repulsed Pyrrhus from
Italy, who drove Antiochus back beyond the
Taurus, who put an end to tyranny even in Mac-
edonia? No, by the rods of Valerius¹ and the
law of Porcius, no, by the leg of Horatius and
the hand of Mucius, no, by the spear of Decius
and the sword of Brutus! But you, unspeakable

¹ P. Valerius Publicola, consul in B.C. 509, lowered his fasces upon entering the assembly in token of the superior power of the people. See Frag. 13, 2, and Livy ii. 7.

δέ, ὃ παγκρίκιστε, καὶ ἐδέου καὶ ἰκέτεves ἵνα δουλεύσης, ὡς Ποστούμιος ὅπως Σαυνίταις ἐκδοθῇ,¹ ὡς Ῥήγουλος ὅπως Καρχηδονίοις ἀποδοθῇ,¹ ὡς Κούρτιος ἵνα ἐς τὸ χάσμα ἐμπέσῃ.¹ καὶ ποῦ τοῦτο γεγραμμένον² εὖρες; οὐπερ³ καὶ τὸ τοὺς Κρήτας ἐλευθέρους μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Βρούτου ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι, ὧν ἡμεῖς ἐκείνον μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος θάνατον ἄρξαι ἐψηφισάμεθα.

- 33 “Εἰτ’ ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις πράγμασι τὴν ἀλιτηριώδη γνώμην αὐτοῦ πεφωρακότες οὐ τιμωρήσεσθε αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ ἀναμενεῖτε⁴ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ μαθεῖν τί ἂν δράσειεν ὑμᾶς ὠπλισμένος ὁ τοιαῦτα² γυμνὸς εἰργασμένος; ἢ οἴεσθε ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖ τῆς τυραννίδος, ὅτι οὐκ εὐχεταί ποτε αὐτῆς τυχεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐκβαλεῖ ποτε ἐκ τῆς διανοίας τὴν ἔφεσιν ταύτην, ἣν ἄπαξ ἐς τὸν νοῦν ἐγκατέθετο, καὶ καταβαλεῖ ποτε τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς μοναρχίας, ὑπὲρ ἧς τοιαῦτα καὶ εἰπὼν καὶ ποιήσας ἀτιμώρητος³ ἐγένετο; καὶ τίς ἀνθρώπων ἅ⁵ ἄλλῳ τῷ συμ-
πράξαι, τῆς φωνῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ μόνης κυριεύων, ἐπιχειρήσειε, ταῦτ’ οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ δυνηθεὶς κατεργάσαιτο; τίς δ’ ἂν ἕτερον τύραννον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ ἐφ’ ἑαυτὸν ἅμα ἀποδείξαι τολμήσας οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς μοναρχήσαι³⁴ ἐθελήσειεν; ὥστε εἰ καὶ τότε αὐτοῦ ἐφέισασθε, ἀλλὰ νῦν γε καὶ δι’ ἐκείνα αὐτὸν μισήσατε· μηδ’ ἐθελήσητε μαθεῖν τί κατορθώσας ὅσα⁶ βούλεται δράσει,⁷ ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν ἤδη προτετολμημένων αὐτῷ

¹ ἐκδοθῇ, ἀποδοθῇ, ἐμπέσῃ Rk., ἐκδοθῆις, ἀποδοθῆις, ἐμπέσῃσι LM.

² γεγραμμένον R. Steph., γεγραμμένους LM.

³ οὐπερ Bk., ὥσπερ LM.

⁴ ἀναμενεῖτε Pflugk, ἀναμένετε LM.

⁵ ἅ supplied by Reim.

⁶ ὅσα Rk., οἷα LM.

⁷ δράσει Rk., δράσειν LM.

BOOK XLV

villain, begged and pled to be made a slave, as B.C. 48
Postumius pled to be delivered to the Samnites,
as Regulus to be given back to the Carthaginians, as
Curtius that he might hurl himself into the chasm.
And where did you find this recorded? In the same
place, I suppose, where you discovered that the
Cretans were to be made free after Brutus' governor-
ship, although it was after Caesar's death that we
voted he should govern them.

"So then, seeing that you have discovered his
baneful disposition in so many and so great matters,
will you not take vengeance on him instead of wait-
ing to learn by experience, too; what the man who
caused so much trouble stripped would do to you
when he is armed? Do you think that he is not
eager for the tyrant's power, that he does not pray
to obtain it some time, but will some day cast the
desire of it out of his thoughts after having once
allowed it a resting-place in his mind, and will
some day abandon the hope of sole rulership for
which he has spoken and acted as he has with im-
punity? What human being who, while possessing
nothing but his own voice, would undertake to help
some one else to secure certain advantages, would
not win them for himself when he gained the power?
Who that has dared to name another as tyrant over
his country and himself as well would not wish to be
monarch himself? Hence, even though you spared
him then, hate him now for those acts too. Do not
wish to learn what he will do when his success equals
his desires, but taught by his previous audacity, plan

- 2 τὸ μηδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν παθεῖν προνοήσατε. καὶ γάρ
 τοι τί καὶ φήσειεν ἄν τις; ὀρθῶς τότε τὸν Καί-
 σαρα ποιῆσαι μὴ προσδεξάμενον μήτε τὸ ὄνομα
 τοῦ βασιλέως μήτε τὸ διῶδημα; οὐκοῦν οὗτος
 3 ἦρεσεν. ἀλλ' ἁμαρτεῖν ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοιοῦτό
 τι ἀκούσας καὶ ἰδὼν ἠνέσχετο; οὐκοῦν εἴπερ
 ἐκεῖνος εἰκότως ἐπὶ τούτοις τέθνηκε, πῶς οὐ καὶ
 οὗτος, ὁμολογῶν τρόπον τινὰ τυραννῆσαι ἐπιθυ-
 4 μείν, δικαιοτάτός ἐστιν ἀπολέσθαι; ὅτι γὰρ ταῦθ'
 οὕτως ἔχει, δῆλον μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὧν
 προείρηκα, φανερώτατα δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν μετὰ
 ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν ἐλέγχεται. τίνος μὲν γὰρ ἄλλου
 ἔνεκα, ἐξὸν αὐτῷ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀσφαλῶς ἄγειν,
 5 ταράττειν τὰ πράγματα καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐπι-
 κεχείρηκε; τίνος δέ, παρὸν αὐτῷ ἀκινδύνως οἴκοι
 μένειν, στρατεύεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐπανήρηται; διὰ
 τί, πολλῶν μηδὲ ἐς τὰς ἐπιβαλούσας αὐτοῖς ἀρχὰς
 βουλευθέντων ἐξελθεῖν, οὗτος οὐχ ὅτι τῆς Γαλατίας
 οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσης ἀντιποιεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 6 ἄκουσάν αὐτὴν βιάζεται; διὰ τί, τοῦ Βρούτου τοῦ
 Δεκίμου καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὰς
 πόλεις ἡμῖν¹ παραδιδόντος, οὗτος οὐχ ὅπως οὐκ
 ἐμμήσατο αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιορκεῖ κατακλεί-
 σας; οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι καὶ ἐφ'
 ἡμᾶς² κἀκεῖνα καὶ τὰλλα πάντα παρασκευάζεται.
 35 “Ταῦτ' οὖν ὁρῶντες μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακίζόμεθα,
 καὶ τηλικούτον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς³ τύραννον ἀσκού-
 μεν; καὶ πῶς οὐκ αἰσχροὺς τοὺς μὲν προγόνους
 ἡμῶν ἐν δουλείᾳ τραφέντας ἐπιθυμῆσαι ἐλευθερίας,

¹ ἡμῖν H. Steph., ὑμῖν L. ² ἡμᾶς H. Steph., ὑμᾶς LM.
³ αὐτοὺς Bk., αὐτὸν LM.

BOOK XLV

beforehand to suffer no further harm. What, indeed, is one to say? That Caesar acted rightly at that time in accepting neither the name of king nor the diadem? Then this man did wrong to offer something which pleased not even Caesar. Or, on the other hand, that Caesar erred in enduring at all to look on and listen to anything of the sort? If, then, Caesar justly suffered death for this error, does not this man, also, who admitted in a way that he desired to be tyrant, most richly deserve to perish? That this is so is evident even from what I have previously said, but is proved most clearly by what he did after that. For with what other object than supremacy has he undertaken to stir up trouble and to meddle in affairs, when he might have enjoyed quiet with safety? With what other object has he chosen to make campaigns and to carry on war, when it was in his power to remain at home without danger? For what reason, when many have been unwilling to go out and take charge even of the provinces that fell to them, does he not only lay claim to Gaul, which does not belong to him in the least, but uses force upon it because of its unwillingness? For what reason, when Decimus Brutus is ready to surrender to us himself and his soldiers and his cities, has this man not imitated him, instead of shutting him up and besieging him? Surely it can only be for this purpose and against us that he is strengthening himself in this and in every other way.

“Seeing all this, then, do we delay and give way to weakness and train up so monstrous a tyrant against ourselves? Would it not be disgraceful if, after our forefathers, who had been brought up in slavery,

B.C. 49

- 2 ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐν αὐτονομίᾳ πολιτευθέντας ἐθελοδουλήσαι, καὶ τῆς μὲν μοναρχίας τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡδέως, καίπερ¹ πολλὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγαθὰ προπαθόντας, ἀπαλλαγῆναι, τοῦτον δὲ δεσπότην αὐθαίρετον ἀνθελέσθαι, ὃς τοσοῦτον ἐκείνου χείρων ἐστὶν ὅσον ὁ μὲν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κρατήσας
- 3 πολλῶν ἐφείσατο, οὗτος δέ, πρὶν καὶ δυνηθῆναί τι, τριακοσίους στρατιώτας, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους τινάς, μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντας, οἴκοι παρ' ἑαυτῷ, παρούσης τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ βλεπούσης, ἐφόνευσεν, ὥστε καὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτὴν ἀναπλη-
- 4 σαι. καίτοι τὸν οὕτως ὥμῳς ἐκείνοις, ὅτε καὶ θεραπεύειν αὐτοὺς ὤφειλε, χρησάμενον τί οὐκ οἴεσθε² τῶν δεινοτάτων πάντας ὑμᾶς, ἂν καὶ νικήσῃ, ποιήσῃν; καὶ τὸν ἀσελγῶς οὕτω μέχρι νῦν βεβιωκότα πῶς οὐκ ἐπὶ πᾶν ὑβρεως, ἂν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ἐξουσίαν προσλάβῃ, χωρήσειν νομίζετε;
- 36 “Μὴ τοίνυν ἀναμείνητε παθόντες τι τοιοῦτο μεταγῶναι, ἀλλὰ πρὶν παθεῖν φυλάξασθε· σχέτλιον γάρ, ἐξὸν προκαταλαβεῖν τὰ δεινὰ, εἴτα περιδόντας αὐτὰ γενόμενα μετανοῆσαι. μηδὲ ἐθελήσητε, προέμενοι τὰ παρόντα, Κασσίου τινὸς αὐθις ἄλλου καὶ Βρούτων³ τινῶν ἄλλων δεσθῆναι· γελοῖον γάρ, ἐξὸν αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς τὰ κατὰ καιρὸν βοηθῆσαι, ζητεῖν μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἐλευθεροῦντας
- 2 ἡμᾶς. οὓς ἴσως οὐδὲ εὐρήσομεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὕτω τοῖς παροῦσι χρησώμεθα. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἰδίᾳ ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας κινδυνεύσαι ἐβελήσειεν,

¹ καίπερ M by correction, καὶ L (and M originally).

² οἴεσθε R. Steph., οἴεσθαι LM.

³ Βρούτων M, βρούτου τῶν L.

BOOK XLV

felt the desire for liberty, we, who have lived under a free government, should become slaves of our own accord? Or, again, if after gladly ridding ourselves of the dominion of Caesar, though we had already received many benefits at his hands, we should deliberately choose as our master in his stead this man, who is far worse than he? For Caesar spared many after his victories in war, whereas this man before attaining any power slaughtered three hundred soldiers, among them some centurions, guilty of no wrongdoing, in his own country, and in the presence and sight of his wife, so that she was actually stained with their blood. And yet what do you think the man who treated them so cruelly, when he owed them care, will not do to all of you,—aye, down to the utmost outrage,—if he shall conquer? And how can you believe that the man who has lived so licentiously up to the present time will not proceed to every extreme of insolence, if he shall also secure the authority given by arms?

●“Do not, then, wait until you have suffered some such treatment and then rue it, but be on your guard before you suffer; for it is rash to allow dangers to come upon you and then to repent of it, when you might have anticipated them. And do not choose to neglect the present opportunity and then ask again for another Cassius or other Brutuses; for it is ridiculous, when we have the power of aiding ourselves in time, to seek men later on to set us free. Perhaps we shall not find them, either, especially if we handle the present situation in such a manner. For who would choose to encounter danger personally for the republic, when he sees that

B.C. 48

- ὁρῶν ἡμᾶς δημοσίᾳ πρὸς τὴν δουλείαν ἐτοίμως
 ἔχοντας; καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ στήσεταιί ποτε ταῦτα
 ποιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πόρρω καὶ ἐλάττωσιν ἐφ'
 3 ἡμᾶς αὐξάνεται, παντὶ δῆλόν ἐστιν. οὐ γάρ που
 δι' ἄλλο τι Δεκίμῳ πολεμεῖ καὶ Μούτιναν
 πολιορκεῖ ἢ ἵνα νικήσας αὐτοὺς καὶ λαβὼν ἐφ'
 ἡμᾶς συσκευάσῃται· οὔτε γὰρ ἡδίκηται τι ὑπ'
 αὐτῶν ὥστ' ἀμύνασθαι δοκεῖν, οὔτ' αὖ τῶν μὲν
 ἀγαθῶν τῶν παρ' ἐκείνοις ἐπιθυμεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 καὶ πόνους καὶ κινδύνους ὑπομένει, τῶν δ' ἡμε-
 τέρων, οἳ καὶ ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ κεκτήμεθα,
 4 ἐβελοντῆς ἀφέξεται. τοῦτ' οὖν ἀναμενοῦμεν, ἵνα
 καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα προσλαβὼν δυσπο-
 λέμητος γένηται; καὶ πιστεύσομεν¹ ἐξαπατῶντι
 37 αὐτῷ καὶ λέγοντι ὅτι² οὐ πολεμεῖ τῇ πόλει; καὶ
 τίς οὕτως εὐήθης ἐστὶν ὥστε τοῖς ῥήμασι μᾶλλον
 ἢ τοῖς ἔργοις τὸν πολεμοῦντα ἡμῖν ἢ μὴ σκοπεῖν;
 ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
 ἐκδέδρακε καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐστράτευκε
 καὶ Βρούτῳ προσβάλλει καὶ τὰς πόλεις πολιορ-
 2 κεῖ, κακόνουν³ αὐτὸν ἡμῖν εἶναί φημι, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ἐξ ὧν πρότερόν ποτε, οὐχ ὅτι τελευτήσαντος τοῦ
 Καίσαρος ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶντος ἔτι, καὶ κακῶς καὶ
 ἀσελγῶς ἔπραξεν, καὶ ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἐπίβουλον καὶ
 τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἡμῶν γεγενῆσθαι
 3 διορίζομαι· τίς γὰρ ἂν τὴν πατρίδα φιλῶν ἢ τίς
 τυραννίδα μισῶν ἔν γε τι τούτων ἐποίησεν ἢ
 πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ οὗτος δέδρακε; πολέμιος
 μὲν δὴ πάλαι καὶ πανταχόθεν ὧν ἡμῖν ἐλέγχεται,

¹ πιστεύσομεν R. Steph., πιστεύσωμεν LM.

² ὅτι supplied by Dind.

³ κακόνουν R. Steph., κακὸν οὖν LM.

BOOK XLV

we are publicly resigned to slavery? And yet it B.C. 43
is evident to everybody that Antony will not stop short with what he is now doing, but that even in remote and smaller matters he is strengthening himself against us. Surely he is warring against Decimus and besieging Mutina for no other purpose than that he may, after conquering them, take them and employ them against us. For he has not been wronged by them, that he can appear to be defending himself; nor, again, will he, while desiring the goods that they possess and with this in view enduring toils and dangers, be willing to refrain from the possessions belonging to us, who own their property and much besides. Shall we, then, wait for him to secure this prize and still others, and thus become a dangerous foe? Shall we trust his deception when he says that he is not warring against the city? Who is so simple as to decide whether a man is making war on us or not by his words rather than by his deeds? I claim that this is not the first time he has been unfriendly to us, now that he has abandoned the city and made a campaign against our allies and is assailing Brutus and besieging the cities; but in view of his former evil and licentious behaviour, not only after Caesar's death but even in the latter's lifetime, I decide that he has shown himself an enemy of our government and of our liberty and a plotter against them. For who that loved his country or hated tyranny would have committed a single one of the many and manifold offences which he has perpetrated? Surely he is proved to have been for a long time and in every way an enemy of ours, and the case stands

- ἔχει δὲ οὕτως. ἂν μὲν ἤδη καὶ τὴν ταχίστην ἀμυνώμεθα αὐτόν, πάντα καὶ τὰ προειμένα¹
- 4 ἀναληψόμεθα· ἂν δ' ἀμελήσαντες τοῦτο ποιεῖν περιμένωμεν ἕως ἂν ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ἐκείνος ἐπιβουλεύειν ὁμολογήσῃ, πάντων ἀμαρτησόμεθα. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν προσελαύνη ποιήσῃ, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ὁ Μάριος οὐδ' ὁ Κίννας οὐδ'
- 5 ὁ Σύλλας· ἂν δὲ ἐν τῷ κράτει τῶν πραγμάτων γένηται, οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι οὐ δράσει τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις, ἢ καὶ χαλεπώτερον. ἄλλα τε γὰρ λέγειν οἱ πρᾶξαι τι² γλιχόμενοι καὶ ἄλλα ποιεῖν οἱ κατορθώσαντες εἰώθασιν· πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ κρατῆσαι τούτου πάντα πλάττονται, τυχόντες δὲ
- 6 αὐτοῦ οὐδενὸς ὧν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἀπέχονται. καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ τετολμημένα τισὶν οἱ ἐπιγυγνόμενοι νικᾶν αἰεὶ ἐθέλουσι, τὸ μὲν ὁμοιον ὥς καὶ σμικρὸν ἐκ τοῦ προπεπρᾶχθαι νομίζοντες, τὸ δὲ ἄτοπον ὥς καὶ μόνον³ σφῶν ἄξιον ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου προαιρούμενοι.
- 38 “Ταῦτ’ οὖν ὁρῶντες, ὦ πατέρες, μηκέτι μέλλωμεν, μηδ’ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ῥαστώνης δελεάζόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφαλείας
- 2 προιδώμεθα. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχυρὸν Καίσαρα μὲν, ἄρτι τε ἐκ παίδων προεληλυθότα καὶ οὐ πολὺς ἐξ οὗ χρόνος ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐγγεγραμμένον, τοσαύτην τοῦ κοινού πρόνοιαν ποιείσθαι ὥστε καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ ἀναλίσκειν καὶ στρατιώτας ἀθροίζειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ μήτ’ αὐτούς τι τῶν δεόντων πρᾶξαι μήτε ἐκείνῳ

¹ προειμένα R. Steph., προιεμένα LM.

² πρᾶξαι τι Pflugk, τι πρᾶξαι Rk., πρᾶξαι LM.

³ μόνον Reim., μόνων LM.

thus. If we now take measures against him most speedily, we shall also recover all that has been lost ; but if we neglect to do this and wait till he himself admits that he is plotting against us, we shall lose everything. For this he will never do, not even if he should actually march upon the city, any more than did Marius or Cinna or Sulla ; yet if he gets control of affairs, he will not fail to act precisely as they did, or still worse. For men who are eager to accomplish some object are wont to say one thing, and those who have succeeded in accomplishing it are wont to do quite a different thing ; to gain their end they pretend anything, but after obtaining it there is no desire they deny themselves. Furthermore, the latest comers always desire to surpass what their predecessors have ventured, thinking it a small achievement to behave like them because that has been done before, but preferring to do something original as the only thing worthy of themselves, because unexpected.

“Seeing all this, then, Conscript Fathers, let us no longer delay nor fall a prey to the indifference of the moment, but let us provide for the safety of the future. Is it not shameful, when Caesar, who has just emerged from boyhood and was but recently registered among the youths of military age, shows so great thought for the state as to spend his money and gather soldiers for its preservation, that we should neither choose to perform our duty ourselves

- συνάρασθαι ¹ προελέσθαι, καίπερ πείραν ἔργῳ τῆς
 3 εὐνοίας αὐτοῦ εἰληφότας; τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι ²
 εἰ μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καμπανίας στρατιωτῶν
 ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκτο, πάντως ἂν ³ Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τοῦ
 Βρεντεσίου εὐθύς, ὥσπερ εἶχεν, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν
 4 μετὰ πάντων τῶν στρατευμάτων ὥσπερ τις χει-
 μάρρους ἐσεπεπτῶκει; καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐκεῖνο δεινόν,
 τοὺς μὲν πάλαι ἐστρατευμένους ἐκουσίους ἑαυτοὺς
 ὑμῖν πρὸς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα ἐπιδεδω-
 κέναι, μήτε τὴν ἡλικίαν μήτε τὰ τραύματα, ἃ
 πρότερόν ποτε πολεμοῦντες ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔλαβον,
 ὑπολογισαμένους, ὑμᾶς ⁴ δὲ μηδὲ ἐπικυρῶσαι τὸν
 πόλεμον ἐθελῆσαι τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων προ-
 5 κεχειροτονημένον, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτ' ἁπλῶς καὶ τῶν
 κινδυνεύοντων αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι ὥστε ἐπαινεῖν
 μὲν τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς τὴν τε μιανίαν
 τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατιδόντας καὶ ἐκεῖνου μὲν καὶ
 ὑπατεύοντος ἀποστάντας, τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι, τοῦτ'
 ἔστιν ὑμῖν δι' αὐτοῦ, προσθεμένους, ἃ δ' ὀρθῶς
 αὐτοὺς πεποιηκέναι φαίε, ταῦτ' ὀκνήσαι ψηφίσα-
 6 σθαι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῷ Βρούτῳ χάριν ἴσμεν ὅτι
 μήτε τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐσεδέξατο τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐς
 τὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ νῦν ἐπιστρατεύσαντα ἀπω-
 θεῖται. τί ποτ' οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ αὐτὰ
 39 ποιοῦμεν; τί δὲ οὐ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐδ' ὀρθῶς
 φρονούντας ἐπαινοῦμεν, μιμούμεθα ⁵; καίτοι δυοῖν
 ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἢ τούτους πάντας, τὸν
 Καίσαρα λέγω, τὸν Βρούτον, τοὺς πάλαι στρατιώ-

¹ συνάρασθαι R. Steph., συναράσθαι LM.

² ὅτι added by Dind.

³ ἂν added by Bk.

⁴ ὑμᾶς Bs., ἡμᾶς LM.

⁵ μιμούμεθα Reim. (so L by correction), οὐ μιμούμεθα M.

BOOK XLV

nor to cooperate with him, even after obtaining a tangible proof of his good-will? For who does not realize that, if he had not arrived here with the soldiers from Campania, Antony would certainly have rushed at once from Brundisium, just as he was, and would have burst into our city with all his armies like a torrent? This also is disgraceful, that when the veterans have voluntarily placed themselves at your service for the present crisis, taking thought neither for their age nor for the wounds which they received in past years while fighting for you, you should both refuse to approve the war already declared by these very men, and show yourselves altogether inferior to them who are facing the dangers. For while you praise the soldiers who discovered the wickedness of Antony and withdrew from him, though he was consul, and attached themselves to Caesar,—that is, to you through him,—you shrink from voting for that which you say they were right in doing. And yet we are grateful to Brutus because he not only did not admit Antony to Gaul in the first place, but is trying to repel him now that the other has made a campaign against him. Why in the world, then, do we not do the same ourselves? Why do we not imitate the rest whom we praise for their proper attitude? Yet there are only two courses open to us: either we must say that all these men, Caesar, I mean, and Brutus, the veterans,

B.C. 43

- τας, τὰ στρατόπεδα,¹ κακῶς τε βεβουλευῆσθαι φάναι καὶ τιμωρίαν δεῖν ὑποσχεῖν ὅτι μήθ' ἡμῶν² μήτε τοῦ δήμου ψηφισαμένων ἐτόλμησαν, οἱ μὲν τὸν ὑπατὸν σφῶν καταλιπόντες οἱ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν
- 2 ἄθροισθέντες, προσπολεμήσαι αὐτῷ· ἢ τὸν Ἀντώνιον πάλαι τε καὶ νῦν³ ὑφ' ἡμῶν⁴ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς πολέμιον ὁμολογεῖν εἶναι κεκρίσθαι, καὶ χρῆναι καὶ κοινῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς πάντων ἡμῶν κολασθῆναι. καὶ μὴν ὅτι τοῦτο οὐ μόνον δικαιοτέρον ἀλλὰ καὶ λυσιτελέστερον ἡμῖν⁵ ἐστίν,
- 3 οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ⁶ οὗτ' αὐτὸς χρῆσασθαι πράγμασιν ἐπίσταται (πῶς γὰρ ἢ πόθεν ἄνθρωπος ἐν μέθαις καὶ κύβοις ζῶν;) οὗτε τῶν συνόντων οὐδένα οἶον ἄξιον εἶναι λόγου ἔχει· τοὺς γάρ τοι ὁμοίους ἑαυτῷ μόνους καὶ ἀγαπᾷ καὶ κοινωνοὺς
- 4 ἀπάντων καὶ ῥητῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτων ποιεῖται. καὶ μέντοι καὶ δειλότητος ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις τῶν κινδύνων καὶ ἀπιστότατος καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πάνν φίλους ἐστίν· ὧν οὐδέτερον στρατηγία καὶ πολέμῳ
- 40 προσήκει. τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι αὐτὸς ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ ἐμφύλια κακὰ παρασκευάσας ἔπειτ' ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον τῶν κινδύνων μετέσχει, ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἐν⁷ τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ καταμείνας⁸ ὑπὸ δειλίας, ὥστ' ὀλίγου τὸν Καίσαρα μονωθέντα δι' αὐτὸν πταῖσαι, πάντας δὲ τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα πολέμους, τὸν πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους, τὸν πρὸς Φαρνάκην, τὸν ἐν
- 2 Ἀφρικῇ, τὸν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐκστάς; τίς δ' οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι τόν τε Κλώδιον προσποιησάμενος καὶ τῇ δημαρχίᾳ

¹ στρατόπεδα Rk., στρατόπεδ' ἂν LM.

² ἡμῶν H. Steph., ὑμῶν LM.

³ νῦν supplied by Bs.

⁴ ἡμῶν H. Steph., ὑμῶν LM.

⁵ ἡμῖν Bk., ὑμῖν LM.

⁶ γὰρ Bs., γε LM.

⁷ ἐν added by Xyl.

⁸ καταμείνας R. Steph., κατὰ μόνας LM.

and the legions,—have planned unwisely and ought to suffer punishment, because without our sanction or that of the people they have dared to offer armed resistance to their consul, some having deserted his standard, and others having been gathered against him; or else we must say that Antony has in our judgment long since admitted and still admits by his deeds themselves that he is our enemy and ought to be punished by common consent of us all. Now no one can fail to be aware that the latter course is not only more just but more expedient for us. For the man neither understands how to handle business himself—how or by what means could one who lives in drunkenness and dicing?—nor has he any companion who is of any account; for he loves only such as are like himself and makes them the confidants of all his open and secret undertakings. Moreover he is most cowardly in the gravest dangers and most treacherous even to his intimate friends; and neither of these qualities is suited for generalship and war. Who does not know that after causing all our domestic troubles himself he then shared the dangers as little as possible, tarrying long in Brundisium through cowardice, so that Caesar was isolated and almost failed on his account, and holding aloof from all the wars that followed against the Egyptians, against Pharnaces, Africa, and Spain? Who does not know that he won the favour of Clodius, and after using

B.C. 45

- αὐτοῦ πρὸς πάντα τὰ δεινότατα ἀποχρησάμενος
 καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτοχειρία, εἶγε ἐγὼ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν
 3 αὐτοῦ ταύτην ἐδεδέγμην· καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι τοῦτο
 μὲν ταμιεύων στρατηγούντι ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ συνεξ-
 ετασθεῖς, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῇ δημαρχίᾳ παρὰ τὴν
 ἀπάντων ἡμῶν γνώμην προσθέμενος, καὶ μετὰ
 τοῦτο καὶ χρήματα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀμύθητα καὶ
 τιμὰς ὑπερόγκους λαβὼν, ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτὸν ἕς τε
 μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἕς
 διαβολὴν ἐμβαλεῖν, ὑφ' ὧν περ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα
 ἀπέθανεν ;
- 41 “Καίτοι εἶπέ ποτε ὅτι ἐγὼ τοὺς σφαγέας ἐπ’
 αὐτὸν παρεσκεύασα· οὕτω γὰρ ἀνότης ἐστίν
 ὥστε μου καταψεύδεσθαι τολμᾶν τηλικούτους
 ἐπαίνους. ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτόχειρα μὲν αὐτὸν οὐ λέγω
 γεγονέναι τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλησεν,
 ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο κατέδειξε· τοῖς μέντοι
 πράγμασιν αὐτοῖς φημι ἐκείνον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀπο-
 2 λωλέναι. ὁ γὰρ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ δικαίως
 ἐπιβεβουλεύεσθαι δοκεῖν παρασχὼν οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ
 βασιλέα αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσας, ὁ τὸ διάδημα
 αὐτῷ δούς, ὁ καὶ τοῖς φιλοῦσιν αὐτὸν πρότερον
 διαβαλὼν. ἢ ἐγὼ μὲν χαίρω τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ
 Καίσαρος ὁ μὴδὲν ἕξω τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπ’¹
 3 αὐτοῦ ἀπολαύσας, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἄχθεται ὁ πᾶσαν
 μὲν τὴν ἐκείνου οὐσίαν διαρπάσας, πάμπολλα δὲ
 ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ προφάσει κακουρ-
 γήσας, καὶ τέλος πρὸς τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς δυναστείας
 αὐτοῦ ἐπειγόμενος ;
- 42 “Ἄλλ’ ἐκέισε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι οὐτ’ αὐτὸς ἀξιο-
 στρατήγητόν τι ἢ ἀξιόνικον ἔχει οὔτε στρατεύ-

¹ ἀπ’ St., ἐπ’ LM.

the other's tribuneship for all the most outrageous ends, would have killed him with his own hand, if I had accepted this offer of his? And again, as regards his relations to Caesar, that after being first associated with him as quaestor, when Caesar was praetor in Spain, then attaching himself to him during the tribuneship, contrary to the liking of us all, and later receiving from him countless sums and excessive honours, he tried to inspire him with a desire for sole rulership and in consequence to expose him to calumny, which two things more than anything else were responsible for Caesar's death?

"Yet he once declared that it was I who instigated the assassins against Caesar; so senseless is he as to venture to invent such high praise for me. Now I, for my part, do not say that he was the actual slayer of Caesar,—not because he was not willing, but because here, too, he was timid,—yet I do say that by the very nature of his conduct Caesar perished at his hands. For the one who provided the motive, so that there seemed to be some justice in plotting against Caesar, is this fellow who called him king, who gave him the diadem, who previously slandered him even to his friends. Do I then, rejoice at the death of Caesar, I, who never enjoyed anything but liberty at his hands, and is Antony grieved, who has seized upon all his property and has done much mischief on the pretext of his papers, and who, finally, is eagerly striving to succeed to his sovereignty?

"But I return to my point that he has none of the qualities of a great general or such as to win victories and does not possess many or

- ματα πολλὰ ἢ ἀξιόμαχα κέκτῃται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστοι οἷ τε ἄριστοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐγκαταλελοίπασιν αὐτόν, καὶ νῆ Δία καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐστέρηται· οἱ δὲ δὴ λοιποὶ ὑβρίζειν καὶ ἀρπάζειν τὰ τῶν συμμάχων μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμεῖν μεμε-
- 2 λητήκασιν. τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ μὲν τρόπου τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτῶν, ὅτι καὶ νῦν ἔτ' αὐτῷ συστρατεύονται, τῆς δὲ ἀνανδρίας, ὅτι τὴν Μούτιναν τοσοῦτον ἤδη χρόνον πολιορκοῦντες οὐχ ἡρήκασιν. καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τῶν τε συνόντων αὐτῷ
- 3 τοιαῦτα ὄντα εὐρίσκεται· τὰ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρος τοῦ τε Βρούτου καὶ τῶν συνεξεταζομένων σφίσι δύσμαχα μὲν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτά ἐστίν (ἀμέλει Καῖσαρ μὲν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ συχνούς ἐσφετέρισται, Βρούτος δὲ ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας αὐτὸν ἐξείργει),
- 4 ἂν δὲ δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπικουρήσητε αὐτοῖς, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπαινέσαντές σφας ἐφ' οἷς ἰδιογνώμονήσαντες ἐποίησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν βεβαιώσαντες, πρὸς τε τὸ μέλλον ἐξουσίαν ἔννομον αὐτοῖς δόντες, ἔπειτα τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέρους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκπέμψαντες, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως βοηθήσουσί¹ τινες αὐτῷ τῶν νῦν
- 5 συνόντων. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἂν τὰ μάλιστα συμμείνωσιν, ἀντισχεῖν γε πρὸς πάντας ἅμα τοὺς ἄλλους δυνήσεται,² ἀλλ' ἦτοι ἐκῶν, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον πύθῃται ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς³ ἐψηφισμένους, τά τε ὅπλα καταθήσεται καὶ ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἑαυτὸν ποιήσεται, ἢ καὶ ἅκων ἐκ μιᾶς μάχης ἀλώσεται.
- 6 “Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν παραινῶ, καὶ εἶγε

¹ βοηθήσουσί Dind., βοηθήσωσί LM.² δυνήσεται Oddey, δυνήσονται LM.³ ὑμᾶς R. Steph., ἡμᾶς LM.

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formidable legions. For the majority of the soldiers and the best ones have deserted him, yes, and what is more, he has been deprived of his elephants; as for the rest of his troops, they have practised outraging and pillaging the allies more than waging war. Proof of the sort of spirit that animates them is seen in the fact that they still adhere to him, and proof of their lack of bravery in their failure to take Mutina, though they have now been besieging it for so long a time. Such is the condition of Antony and of his followers found to be. But Caesar and Brutus and those arrayed with them are formidable opponents quite by themselves,—Caesar, at any rate, has won over many of his rival's soldiers, and Brutus is keeping him out of Gaul,—and if you also come to their assistance, first by approving what they have done on their own initiative, next by ratifying their acts, at the same time giving them legal authority for the future, and then by sending out both the consuls to take charge of the war, it is certain that none of his present associates will continue to aid him. However, even if they cling to him most tenaciously, he will not be able to resist all the others at once, but will either lay down his arms voluntarily, as soon as he ascertains that you have passed this vote, and place himself in your hands, or will be captured against his will as the result of a single battle.

“This is my advice to you, and, if it had been

my lot to be consul, I should certainly have carried B.C. 48
it out, as I did in former days when I defended
you against Catiline and Lentulus (a relative of this
very man), who had conspired against you. Perhaps,
however, some of you, while regarding these sug-
gestions as well made, think we ought first to send
envoys to him, and then, after learning his decision,
in case he voluntarily gives up his arms and submits
himself to you, to take no action, but if he persists
in the same course of action, to declare war upon
him; for this is the advice which I hear some persons
wish to give you. Now this plan is very attractive
in theory, but in point of fact it is disgraceful and
dangerous to the city. For is it not disgraceful that
you should employ heralds and embassies to your
fellow-citizens? With foreign nations it is proper
and necessary to treat first through heralds and
envoys, but upon citizens who are guilty of some
wrong-doing you should inflict punishment straight-
way, by trying them in court if you can get them
within reach of your votes, and by warring against
them if within reach of your arms. For all such are
your servants and servants of the people and of the
laws, whether they wish it or not; and it is not
fitting either to coddle them or to put them on
an equal footing with the freest of the citizens,
but to pursue and chastise them like runaway ser-
vants, in the consciousness of your own superiority.
Is it not shameful that while he does not hesitate
to wrong us, we hesitate to defend ourselves? Or,

- ἐκείνον μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ τὰ ὄπλα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντα πάντα τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράττειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐν ψηφίσμασι καὶ πρεσβείαις τοὺς χρόνους κατατρίβειν, καὶ ὃν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἀδικοῦντα πάσαι πεφωράκαμεν, τοῦτον συλλαβαῖς καὶ
- 2 ῥήμασι μόνοις μεταχειρίζεσθαι; τί προσδοκῶντας; ἢ ὅτι ὑπακούσει ποτὲ ἡμῖν καὶ αἰδεσθήσεται ποτε ἡμᾶς; καὶ πῶς, ὅς γε ἐς τοῦτ' ἤδη προκεχώρηκεν ὥστε μηδ' ἂν βούληται δύνασθαι δημοκρατικῶς ἡμῖν συμπολιτεῦσαι; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ κοινῶς ζῆν ἡβούλετο, οὐδ' ἂν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοιοῦτοις πράγμασιν ἐπεχείρησεν, εἴ τε καὶ ὑπ' ἀνοίας ἢ καὶ προπετείας τοῦτ' ἐποίησε, πάντως ἂν ἐκὼν
- 3 εὐθὺς αὐτῶν ἀπηλλάγη· νῦν δ' ἅπαξ καὶ ἐκ τῶν νόμων καὶ ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐκβάς, καὶ τινα καὶ δύνಾಮιν ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐξουσίαν προσλαβὼν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἂν ἐθελούσιος μεταβάλοιτο¹ καὶ τῶν δογμάτων τι τῶν ὑμετέρων προτιμήσειε, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τὸν τοιοῦτον αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὄπλοις, οἷσπερ ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἐτόλμησε, καὶ κολασθῆναι.
- 45 καὶ μοι νῦν μάλιστα τὸ λεχθέν ποτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου μνημονεύσατε, ὅτι οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστιν ὑμῖν, ἂν μὴ κρατήσητε, σωθῆναι. οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν οἱ κελεύοντες ὑμᾶς πρεσβεύσασθαι ἢ ὅπως ὑμεῖς μὲν βραδύνητε, καὶ τούτου καὶ τὰ τῶν συμμαχούντων ὑμῖν ἀργότερα καὶ ἀθυμότερα
- 2 γένηται, ἐκείνος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καθ' ἡσυχίαν πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν βούληται πράξῃ, καὶ τὸν τε Δέκιμον

¹ μεταβάλοιτο R. Steph , μεταβάλλοιτο LM.

again, that while he for a long time, weapons in hand, has been carrying out all the deeds of war, we are wasting our time in decrees and embassies, and that we retaliate only with words and phrases upon the man whom we have long since discovered by his deeds to be a wrong-doer? What are we hoping for? That he will some day render us obedience and pay us respect? Yet how would this be possible in the case of a man who has come to such a point that he would not be able, even should he wish it, to live as an ordinary citizen with us under a democratic government? Indeed, if he were willing to live on a basis of common equality, he would never have entered in the first place upon such a career as his; and even if he had done so under the influence of folly or recklessness, he would certainly have given it up speedily of his own accord. But as the case stands, since he has once overstepped the limits imposed by the laws and the constitution, and has acquired ~~some~~ power and authority by this action, it is not conceivable that he would change of his own free will or heed any one of your resolutions, but it is absolutely necessary that such a man should be punished with those very weapons with which he has dared to wrong us. And I beg you now to remember particularly the remark which this man himself once uttered, to the effect that it is impossible for you to be saved unless you conquer. Hence those who bid you send envoys are doing nothing else than causing you to delay and causing your allies to become in consequence more remiss and dispirited; while he, on the other hand, will meanwhile do whatever he pleases, will destroy

ἐξέλη καὶ τὴν Μούτιναν ἐκπολιορκήσῃ τὴν τε
Γαλατίαν πᾶσαν λάβῃ, ὥστε μηκέθ' ἡμᾶς ὅπως
αὐτῷ χρησώμεθα εὐρεῖν δυνηθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὑποδεδι-
έναι τε καὶ θεραπεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ προσκυνεῖν
3 ἀνάγκην¹ ἔχειν. ἐν δὲ ἔτι² τοῦτο περὶ τῆς
πρεσβείας εἰπὼν παύσομαι, ὅτι οὐδὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος
λόγον τινὰ ὑμῖν ἔδωκε περὶ ὧν πράττειν ἔμελλεν,
ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς τοῦτο ποιήσητε.

4 “Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὰλλα
πάντα συμβουλεύω ὑμῖν μὴ μέλλειν μηδὲ
διατρίβειν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τάχιστα αὐτῷ πολεμήσαι,
λογισαμένους ὅτι τὰ πλείω τῶν πραγμάτων τοῖς
5 καιροῖς ἢ ταῖς δυνάμεσι κατορθοῦνται,³ καὶ πάντως
που καὶ ἐκ τούτου συνιέναι ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε τὴν
εἰρήνην, ἐν ᾗ καὶ πλείστον ἰσχύω καὶ πλούτου
καὶ δόξαν ἐκτησάμην, ἀφείς, εἴγε καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ
εἰρήνη ᾗν,⁴ πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ γε καὶ συμφέρειν
46 ἡγούμην, παρήνεσα.⁵ καὶ σοὶ⁶ δέ, ὦ Καλῆνε,
τοῖς τε ἄλλοις τοῖς ταῦτά σοι φρονοῦσι συμ-
βουλεύω καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐπιτρέψαι τῇ⁷ γερουσίᾳ τᾷ
προσῆκοντα ψηφίσασθαι, καὶ μὴ τῆς ἰδίας ὑμῶν
πρὸς Ἀντώνιον χάριτος ἕνεκα τὰ κοινῇ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν
2 συμφέροντα καταπροδοῦναι. ὥς ἔγωγε οὕτω
γνώμης, ὦ πατέρες, ἔχω ὥστ', ἂν μὲν πεισθῇτέ μοι,
καὶ πάνυ⁸ ἂν ἡδέως καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῆς
σωτηρίας μεθ' ὑμῶν ἀπολαῦσαι, ἂν δ' ἄλλο τι
ψηφίσῃσθε, τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν ἐλέσθαι.
3 οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως τὸν θάνατόν ποτε τὸν ἐκ τῆς

¹ ἀνάγκην R Steph., ἀναγκῇ LM.

² ἔτι M, ὅτι L.

³ κατορθοῦνται Reim., κατορθοῦνται LM.

⁴ εἰρήνη ᾗν Bk., εἰρήνην LM

⁵ παρήνεσα Dind., παραινέσαι LM

⁶ σοὶ R. Steph, σὺ LM.

⁷ τῇ Rk., τῇ τε LM.

⁸ πάνυ Reim., πάντα LM.

Decimus, will take Mutina by storm, and will capture all Gaul, with the result that we shall no longer be able to find means of dealing with him, but shall be under the necessity of trembling before him, paying court to him, and worshipping him. Just this one point further about the embassy and I am done: Antony did not on his part give you any account of what he intended to do, that you should do so yourselves.

“ I, therefore, for these and all the other reasons advise you not to delay or to lose time, but to make war upon him as quickly as possible, reflecting that the majority of enterprises owe their success rather to opportune occasions than to their strength; and you should by all means feel perfectly sure for this very reason that I would never have given up peace, in the midst of which I have most influence and have acquired wealth and reputation, if it really were peace, nor would have urged you to make war, did I not think it to your advantage. And I advise you, Calenus, and the rest who are of the same mind as you, to be quiet and allow the senate to vote the requisite measures, and not for the sake of your private good-will toward Antony to betray the common interests of us all. For this is my feeling, Conscript Fathers, that if you heed my counsel, I shall very gladly enjoy freedom and safety with you, but that if you vote anything different, I shall choose to die rather than to live. For I have never at any time been afraid of death

- παρρησίας ἐφοβήθην (καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κατῳρ-
θωσα πλείστον· τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι καὶ θῆσαι καὶ
ἐορτάσαι ἐφ' οἷς ὑπατεύων ἐποίησα ἐψηφίσασθε,
ὅπερ οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἄλλῳ μὴ οὐκ ἐν πολέμῳ γέ-
τι καταπράξαντι ἐγένετο), νῦν δὲ καὶ ἥκιστα.
- 4 καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν¹ θάνατος οὐκ ἂν ἄωρος ἄλλως τε
καὶ πρὸ τοσούτων ἐτών ὑπατευκότι μοι γένοιτο
(καίτοι μνημονεύετε ὅτι τοῦτο καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ
ὑπατείᾳ ὑμῖν εἶπον, ἵνα μοι πρὸς πάντα ὡς
καταφρονοῦντι αὐτοῦ προσέχητε)· τὸ δὲ δὴ
φοβηθῆναί τινα καθ' ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ δουλεύσαι τι-
νι μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ πάνυ ἂν μοι ἁωρότατον² συμβαίη.
- 5 ὁθενπερ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ συμφορὰν καὶ ὄλεθρον, οὐ
τοῦ σώματος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς τε
δόξης, ὑφ' ἧς πού καὶ μόνῃς αἰδίοι τρόπον τινὰ
γιγνόμεθα, εἶναι νομίζω· τὸ δὲ δὴ λέγοντά τε καὶ
πράττοντα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀποθανεῖν ἰσοστάσιον
ἀθανασίᾳ³ ἄγω.
- 47 “Καὶ εἶγε καὶ Ἀντώνιος ταῦτ' ἐγίγνωσκειν, οὐκ
ἂν ποτε ἐς τοιαῦτα πράγματα προυχώρησεν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἂν, ὥσπερ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ,
μᾶλλον ἢ τι τῶν ὁμοίων τῷ Κίννα τῷ ἐκείνῳ
- 2 ἀποκτείναντι ποιῆσαι προείλετο. πρὸς γὰρ αὐ-
τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁ μὲν Κίννας οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον
ἀντεσφάγη διὰ τε τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τὰλλα ἃ κακῶς
ἐπραττε (διόπερ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ Ἀντωνίου
τεθαύμακα, ὅτι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ μιμούμενος οὐ
φοβεῖται μήποτε ὁμοίᾳ καταστροφῇ περιπέσῃ),
ἐκείνος δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὸ δοκεῖν τι-
νι εἶναι

¹ καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Bk., καὶ ὁ μὲν γὰρ LM² ἁωρότατον Dind., ἁωρότατον LM³ ἀθανασίᾳ Rk., ἀθανασίαν LM.

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as a consequence of my outspokenness (this accounts, indeed, for my overwhelming success, the proof of which lies in the fact that you decreed a sacrifice and festival in memory of the deeds done in my consulship, an honour which had never before been granted to anybody except one who had achieved some great success in war) and now I fear it least of all. For death, if it befell me, would not be at all unseasonable, especially when you consider that my consulship was so many years ago (yet remember that in that very consulship I expressed the same sentiment, in order that you might pay heed to me in everything, knowing that I despised death), but to dread any one for what he may do against you, and to be a slave to any one in common with you would prove most unseasonable to me. Therefore I deem this last to be the ruin and destruction not only of the body but also of the soul and reputation, by which, and by which alone, we become in a certain sense immortal; but to die speaking and acting in your behalf I regard as equivalent to immortality.

"Now if Antony, also, realized this, he would never have entered upon such a career, but would have even preferred to die as his grandfather died rather than to behave like Cinna, who killed him. For, to mention nothing else, Cinna was in turn slain not long afterward for this and the other crimes he had committed; so that I am surprised also at this feature in Antony's conduct, that, imitating his deeds as he does, he shows no fear of some day falling a victim to a similar fate. The murdered man, on the other hand, left behind to this very descendant

- ³ κατέλιπεν. ἀλλ' οὔτι γε καὶ σώζεσθαι διὰ τοὺς
 συγγενεῖς ἔτι δίκαιός ἐστι, μήτε τὸν παππον
 ζηλώσας μήτε τὸν πατέρα τῆς οὐσίας κληρονο-
 μήσας. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τοῦθ',¹ ὅτι πολλοὺς
 φεύγοντας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
 ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων δὴ τῶν ἐκείνου καταγαγὼν²
⁴ οὐκ ἐπεκούρησε τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν συγκυβευ-
 τὴν τὸν Λεντίκουλον τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου
 ῥαδιουργίᾳ φυγόντα ἐπανήγαγε, καὶ τὸν Βαμβα-
 λίωνα τὸν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ἐπιβόητον
 ἀγαπᾷ, τοῖς δὲ δὴ συγγενεστάτοις οὕτως ὥσπερ
 εἶπον³ κέχρηται, καθάπερ τινὰ ὀργὴν αὐτοῖς.
⁵ ἔχων ὅτι τοιοῦτος ἐγεννήθη. τοιγαροῦν τῶν μὲν
 ἐκείνου⁴ χρημάτων οὐκ ἐκληρονόμησεν, ἄλλων
 δὲ δὴ καὶ πάνυ πολλούς, τοὺς μὲν μὴτ' ἰδὼν μὴτ'
 ἀκούσας πώποτε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ζῶντας·
 οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀποδέδυκε καὶ σεσύληκεν ὥστε
 μηδὲν σφας νεκρῶν διαφέρειν."

¹ τοῦθ' Bk., ταῦθ' LM.² καταγαγὼν Rk., ἀγαγὼν LM.³ ὥσπερ εἶπον Bk., ὡς προείπον LM.⁴ ἐκείνου V, ἐκείνων LM.

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the reputation of greatness. But Antony has no longe¹ any claim to be saved on account of his relatives, since he has neither emulated his grandfather nor inherited his father's property. Who, indeed, is unaware of the fact that in restoring many who were exiled in Caesar's time and later, in accordance, forsooth, with the directions of Caesar's papers, he did not aid his uncle, but brought back his fellow-gambler Lenticulus, who had been exiled for his unprincipled life, and cherishes Bambalio,¹ who is notorious for his very cognomen, while he has treated his nearest relatives as I have described, as if he were half angry at them because he was born to so noble a name? Consequently he never inherited his father's goods, but has been the heir of very many others, some of whom he never saw or heard of, and others who are still living; for he has so stripped and despoiled them that they differ in no way from dead men."

¹ M. Fulvius Bambalio, Antony's father-in-law. The name Bambalio signifies "stutterer."

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